

3077019

17/39/2

SAHAI

ICONOGRAPHY OF MINOR HINDU
AND BUDDHIST DEITIES

iconography of minor hindu and buddhist deities

ARHINAV



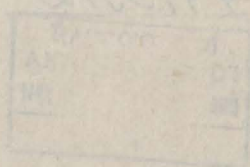
PUBLICATIONS

BHAGWANT SAHAI

ICONOGRAPHY OF
MINOR HINDU AND BUDDHIST DEITIES

ICONOGRAPHY OF MINOR HINDU AND BUDDHIST DEITIES

BHAGWANT SAHAI



ABHINAV



PUBLICATIONS

ABHINAV PUBLICATIONS

NEW DELHI-110016

1975

3077019

ICNOGRAPHY OF MINOR HINDU
AND BUDDHIST SETIES

BHAGWANT SAHAI



© BHAGWANT SAHAI 1975

First Published 1975

Publisher : Shakti Malik, Abhinav Publications,
E-37 Hauz Khas, New Delhi 110016

Printer : Vishal Printers, 2/34, Roop Nagar,
Delhi 110007

8/11

DEDICATED TO

THE SACRED MEMORY OF

MY FATHER

LATE ŚRĪ BAJRANG SAHAI

FOREWORD

THERE have been numerous studies on religious history and specific religions. But the study of any religion on the basis of iconography is a highly difficult and technical job. Iconography of major Hindu and Buddhist deities has been the subject matter of highly competent works by the renowned scholars; but minor deities played no less important part in the religious life and beliefs of the people, particularly common people. Dr. B. Sahai chose this line of neglected area of study, 'Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities', for his Ph.D. thesis. I saw the work grow under his meticulous care and the work was highly appreciated by examiners like late Dr. J.N. Banerjea. Dr. Sahai has shown great interest in handling this difficult subject and in his use of recent archaeological finds to substantiate his points. The work has been rightly well illustrated. I have no doubt that this book written in lucid style will be welcomed by the students and scholars of religious history. It also throws fresh light on the art of the early medieval period.

In introducing Dr. B. Sahai as a writer in the field of ancient history and culture, I am more than confident that the world of scholarship would have more of such competent works from him later.

Patna
Feb. 1975

B. P. SINHA
University Professor
and Head of the Department of
Ancient Indian History & Archaeology
Patna University

PREFACE

THIS work aims at presenting a detailed and systematic study of the iconography of some of the minor Hindu and Buddhist deities. Its scope is, however, restricted to the sculptures of northern India; but still, by way of comparison, some well known sculptures of southern India have also been taken note of. The study has been felt rather essential in view of minor deities having received scant treatment at the hands of the renowned scholars in their works on iconography.

The present work, *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, embodies in the main the thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Patna in 1965. No amount of words can adequately express my deep sense of gratitude that I owe to my esteemed teacher, Prof. B.P. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology, Patna University, whose constant guidance, able supervision, exacting standard of scholarship and sympathetic encouragement made it possible for me to give the work the present form. My grateful thanks and gratitude are also due to my revered teacher, late Prof. A.S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., who had evinced keen interest and promised considerable help in this work of mine; but destiny ordained otherwise and the privilege of having benefited from his scholarly suggestions and numerous photographs of stone images he was to place at my disposal was unfortunately denied. To Dr. S. Malti Devi, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology, Patna University, I owe deep sense of gratitude for her proffered help and valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Dr. S.N. Sahay, M.A., Ph.D., and Dr. M.C.P. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., both Lecturers in the Department, and to Śrī Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha, M.A., Patna Museum, for their kind help and useful suggestions. I have also to thank Śrī Prosanto Kumar Bose, Photographer in the Department, for helping me with some very good photographs for their inclusion in this work of mine. I owe special thanks to Dr. B.N. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi, for having extended his helping hand in the final publication of the work. I am also thankful to Śrī Shakti Malik, Proprietor, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, for taking keen interest in the publication of the work and rushing its print through the press.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not thank the Ministry of Education, Government of India, for having awarded me a research scholarship which had

enabled me to commence the work. I would also like to thank my *alma mater*, the University of Patna, for having afforded me a financial assistance towards my research work.

At the end, I must place on record my hearty thanks to all those great savants whose writings I have extensively utilised in the preparation of this work.

Patna
February, 1975

BHAGWANT SAHAI

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

a	अ	ī	ऀ	anusvāra		◌ं	m
ā	आ	e	ए	Visarga		:	ḥ
i	इ	ai	ऐ				
ī	ई	o	ओ				
u	उ	au	औ				
ū	ऊ						
k	क्	ch	च्	t	ट्	t	त्
kh	ख्	chh	छ्	ṭh	ठ्	th	थ्
g	ग्	j	ज्	d	ड्	d	द्
gh	घ्	jh	झ्	ḍh	ढ्	dh	ध्
ṇ	ङ्	ṇ	ञ्	n	ण्	n	न्
p	प्	y	य्	ś	श्		
ph	फ्	r	र्	ṣ	ष्		
b	ब्	l	ल्	s	स्		
bh	भ्	v	व्	h	ह्		
m	म्						

Common words and modern names are usually written without any diacritical marks.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abhilaṣit.</i>	<i>Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi</i>
AGBG	<i>L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara</i>
AI	<i>Ancient India—Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
<i>Aṁśumad.</i>	<i>Aṁśumadbhedāgama</i>
ASI	<i>Archaeological Survey of India</i>
ASIAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report</i>
ASR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India—Cunningham's Report</i>
ASS	<i>Ānandāśrama Sanskrta Series</i>
AV	<i>Atharva-veda</i>
BMC	<i>The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, London</i>
BMC, GD	<i>Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, King of Gauda (in the British Museum, London)</i>
<i>Br. Saṁ.</i>	<i>Bṛhatsaṁhitā</i>
<i>Chaturvarga.</i>	<i>Chaturvargachintāmaṇi</i>
CCAI	<i>Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum, London</i>
CCIMC	<i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i>
CII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
DHI	<i>Development of Hindu Iconography</i>
EHI	<i>Elements of Hindu Iconography</i>
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
EISMS	<i>Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture</i>
HBR	<i>History of Bengal, vol. I, edited by R.C. Majumdar</i>
HFAIC	<i>A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon</i>
HIIA	<i>History of Indian and Indonesian Art</i>
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
IHQ	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
<i>Ind. Arch.</i>	<i>Indian Archaeology—A Review</i>
JAHRs	<i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajamundry</i>
JARS	<i>Journal of the Assam Research Society</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta</i>
JBRS	<i>Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna</i>
JDL	<i>Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta</i>
JIH	<i>Journal of Indian History</i>
JISOA	<i>Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art</i>
JNSI	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>

JPASB	<i>Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London</i>
JUPHS	<i>Journal of the U.P. Historical Society</i>
l/ll	line/lines
MA SI	<i>Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
Mbh.	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
M. Sm.	<i>Manusmṛti</i>
Num. Suppl.	<i>Numismatic Supplement</i>
Num. Chron.	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
OST	<i>Original Sanskrit Text</i>
P.	<i>Purāṇa</i>
p/pp	page/pages
Pathak K.B.	<i>K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume</i>
Comm. Vol.	
PIHC	<i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress</i>
pl/pls	plate/plates
PMC	<i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, vol. I</i>
Rām.	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>
ṚV	<i>Ṛg-veda</i>
Samarāṅgaṇa.	<i>Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra of King Bhoja</i>
Śat. Br.	<i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i>
SBE	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i>
Vāj. Saṁ.	<i>Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā</i>
Viṣṇudh.	<i>Viṣṇudharmottara</i>
Viśvakarma.	<i>Viśvakarma-śilpa-śāstra</i>
vol/vols	volume/volumes
VRS	<i>Varendra Research Society</i>

Photographs Courtesy

Archaeological Survey of India : Fig. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 13, 19, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 40, 43 and 44.

Archaeological Museum, Mathurā : Fig. Nos. 9 and 45.

Asutosh Museum, Calcutta : Fig. No. 24.

National Museum, New Delhi : Fig. Nos. 14, 33, 35, 36 and 38.

Patna Museum, Patna : Fig. Nos. 22, 27, 39, 41 and 42.

Dr. B.N. Sharma, New Delhi : Fig. Nos. 5, 6, 12, 16, 18, 21, 23 and 30.

Śrī C.R.P. Sinha, Patna : Fig. Nos. 2, 3, 11, 17 and 20.

Śrī P.K. Bose, Patna : Fig. No. 37.

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Dedication	v
Foreword	vii
Preface	ix
Transliteration Table	xi
Abbreviations	xii
Photographs Courtesy	xiv
Introduction	1

I. HINDU DEITIES

I	Indra	11
II	Agni	27
III	Yama	37
IV	Varuṇa	45
V	Vāyu	53
VI	Kubera	59
VII	Nāga	73
VIII	Revanta	89
IX	Kārttikeya	99
X	Bhairava	119
XI	Harihara	133
XII	Sarasvatī	141
XIII	Lakṣmī	157
XIV	Mahīṣamardinī	181
XV	Chāmūṇḍā	197
XVI	Sapta-Mātṛkā	207

II. BUDDHIST DEITIES

XVII	Jambhala	223
XVIII	Trailokya-vijaya	231
XIX	Aparājītā	235
XX	Parṇaśabarī	239
XXI	Mārīchī	243
XXII	Hārītī	253
Appendix : A Note on Trailokya-vijaya, Aparājītā and Parṇaśabarī		259
Select Bibliography		263
Illustrations		275
Index		279

INTRODUCTION

ICONOGRAPHY concerns mainly with the study of the religious figures, may be in stone, terracotta, bronze, painting or on coins or seals. In the words of Dr. J.N. Banerjea,¹ the greatest authority on Hindu iconography, 'this branch of knowledge is not merely concerned with the study and interpretation of the characteristics of the principal icons or images proper which are enshrined in the main sanctum of a temple or church, but it also deals with the delineation of the special features and the understanding of the true significance of the figure sculptures, frescoes or such other objects which are executed on different parts of the shrine mainly for decorative purposes. Thus, in its broader sense, the term *iconography* really signifies the interpretative aspect of the religious art of a country which becomes manifest in diverse ways'.

The study of Hindu and Buddhist iconography in this sense has been so far largely concerned with the generally well-known and important deities, such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Śakti, Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, etc. Even Gaṇeśa has been a subject of an independent monograph. Moreover, in the previous works, more emphasis has been laid upon religious texts and other literary references for drawing upon the iconographic features of the deities. Dr. J.N. Banerjea's '*Development of Hindu Iconography*' is the only authentic work which gives for the first time due importance to archaeological materials, viz. inscriptions, coins, seals and sculptures, for the study of the history of the development of the iconography of the Hindu deities. The entire Buddhist pantheon is outside the scope of his book. Benoytosh Bhattacharya relies chiefly on the Buddhist texts for his study of the Buddhist iconography in his work entitled '*Indian Buddhist Iconography*'. Archaeological materials have hardly been touched by him. B.C. Bhattacharya's book '*Indian Images*', which deals with the north Indian Brahmanical images, has taken note only of the Gupta and the post-Gupta examples, referring only to a few of the sculptural representations of the deities. Sculptures of the pre-Gupta period do not find even reference in this work. Similarly, the work by N.K. Bhattasali, '*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*', primarily in the nature of a catalogue of the Dacca Museum, besides documenting the images of eastern Bengal (now Bangladesh), deals only with the special features of the sculptures of that region. None of these works, even when touching the north Indian images, contains a critical study of the development of the images. H. Krishna Sastri's '*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*' and G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's '*Iconography of Southern India*', translated from the French by A.C. Martin, as their names suggest, deal ex-

1. Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, pp. 1-2.

clusively with the images of south India. Even T.A. Gopinatha Rao, in his excellent volumes on *'Elements of Hindu Iconography'*, has drawn much of the materials from the images of the southern part of the subcontinent and has hardly done any justice to the north Indian examples. Therefore, a detailed study of the iconography of some important though minor Hindu and Buddhist deities has been taken up for filling up the gap in our knowledge of the development of the religious art in connection with such gods and goddesses who were not treated in detail by previous authors on the subject. The main reliance has been placed on archaeological sources as these alone can afford concrete proofs for the origin and development of the iconography of the deities concerned. Of course, wherever possible, literary references explaining the nature, origin and specific characteristics have been made use of to supplement the archaeological data.

By necessity, the selection of the deities to be studied here has been somewhat arbitrary, regard being had to the fact whether the particular deity has been studied comprehensively already before. But a mere glance at the list of the deities studied here would reveal a pattern. The order of sequence is as such—(I) Indra, (II) Agni, (III) Yama, (IV) Varuṇa, (V) Vāyu, (VI) Kubera, (VII) Nāga, (VIII) Revanta, (IX) Kārttikeya, (X) Bhairava, (XI) Harihara, (XII) Sarasvatī, (XIII) Lakṣmī, (XIV) Maḥiṣamardinī, (XV) Chāmuṇḍā, (XVI) Saptamātṛkā, (XVII) Jambhala (XVIII) Trailokya-vijaya, (XIX) Aparājītā, (XX) Parṇaśabarī, (XXI) Mārīchī, and (XXII) Hārītī. It is clear that the deities selected for study are not only minor but also important in accordance with the title of the work. But the arrangement may be found to contain a logic in it, as it has been possible to arrange both the Hindu and the Buddhist deities under different groups. The Brahmanical gods can readily be classified as the Vedic, the Vyantara, the Vaiṣṇava, the Śaiva, the Solar and the Syncretic. Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Vāyu are well known to be the Vedic deities, Kubera and Nāga are undoubtedly the Vyantara-devatās, whereas Kārttikeya and Bhairava are Śaiva, Balarāma is Vaiṣṇava, Revanta is Solar, and Harihara is Syncretic. As such in the body of the work, the five Vedic deities, Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Vāyu, have been dealt first. Kubera, the god of wealth, is a guardian deity of one of the quarters of the universe, as the deities mentioned above, and so he has been placed immediately after the Vedic deities. After Kubera, Nāga has been discussed for like the former, the latter is also included amongst the Vyantara-devatās. Revanta, the son of Sūrya, has been placed after Nāga. After these divinities, the Śaiva gods, Kārttikeya and Bhairava, have been included. Kārttikeya is usually regarded as the son of Śiva; but as he has some solar connection, he has been discussed after the images of Revanta. Bhairava is a terrific aspect of Śiva, and not the major god Śiva himself (sometimes even taken to be the attendant of Śiva), and so his images have also been considered after those of Kārttikeya. And lastly amongst the Hindu gods have been discussed the images of Harihara, a syncretic deity, illustrating the fusion of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

After having discussed the images of the Hindu gods, a study of the images of the Hindu goddesses has been made, viz., of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Mahiṣamardīnī, Chāmuṇḍā and Saptamātṛkā. In this connection, it may be mentioned that Durgā, an important form of the Devī, is the major goddess of the Śākta cult. In view of this, the images of the goddess Durgā have been excluded, but only one of her aspects—her most important and interesting aspect—has been taken into consideration. This may explain the reason why Mahiṣamardīnī images (and not the images of Durgā) have been selected for study.

Amongst the Buddhist deities, only a few of them have been selected for study. Whereas in the Hindu pantheon, the images of Harihara reflect the syncretic tendencies amongst the followers of the rival sects, Buddhist images of Trailokya-vijaya and Aparājītā are interesting on account of their having demonstrated the sharp bickerings that seemed to have raged amongst the members of different religious faiths. Not only that a few Hindu deities are being humiliated by being pressed under the feet of these Buddhist deities, but that others are made to serve as their attendants, certainly a humiliating position for the Hindu divinities. In order to reflect this sidelight thrown on the religious condition of the contemporary period, images of Trailokya-vijaya and Aparājītā have been considered. Even Parṇaśabarī is found trampling upon Gaṇeśa, conceived as the personification of the *vighnas*, diseases and pestilences. One form of Mārīchī also is said to tread upon the Brahmanic deity. Jambhala is the Buddhist counterpart of Hindu Kubera, whereas Hārītī may be regarded as parallel to the Mother Goddess of the Hindus, being considered as the protectress of the children, though originally she was an ogress. So these half a dozen of the Buddhist deities have been dealt with in this work, and arranged as Jambhala, Trailokya-vijaya, Aparājītā, Parṇaśabarī, Mārīchī and Hārītī in the section dealing with the Buddhist deities.

Materials for the study of Indian iconography are not inconsiderable and they are of two distinct kinds—(i) archaeological and (ii) literary. But this study of the Hindu and the Buddhist images is based mainly on the archaeological finds of northern India, and as such, the primary sources for us are archaeological in nature which include not only stone sculptures, terracotta figurines, bronze statuettes and seals, but also epigraphy and numismatics. And here archaeology comes as our only source for the study of the religious art of the Harappan culture of the 3rd millennium B.C. Some stone sculptures and a large number of terracotta figurines and still undeciphered seals containing scenes, animals, human figures and various other devices are of particular interest. The female figurines, practically nude with very abbreviated skirt, having full breasts, attenuated waist and heavy hips, have been identified as those of Mother Goddess, who appears to have merged in the historic times with the concept of goddess Lakṣmī, who has been regarded also

as the goddess of fertility. Certain of the seals are also of importance as they throw welcome sidelight on the representation of the Nāgas on them. Though it is not possible at present to establish or to distinguish Harappan features in the development of iconography of Hindu Mother Goddess or Śiva, the temptation to owe a debt to this early religion is indeed great and possibly reasonable.

The vast span of period stretching between the decline of the Indus civilization and the beginning of the Mauryan regime in the 4th century B.C. is usually regarded as a dark chapter in the history of Indian art and archaeology. Recent archaeological excavations have certainly brought to light different ceramic traditions and art of terracottas; but doubtlessly, the period affords very scanty material for the study of artistic and religious activities of the people. But it has to be borne in mind that the period is represented by highly remarkable productions in the field of literature like the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and certain of the Pāli texts, which bristle with references about brisk artistic and religious activities during the period represented by them. It is, therefore, hardly believable that the people who could produce literary works of so great a significance were devoid of artistic bent of mind. It has, therefore, been rightly presumed by a section of scholars that during the post-Indus and the pre-Mauryan period the artists worked mostly on some perishable materials like wood which have been destroyed in due course by the destructive forces of nature which are always at work.

The Mauryan monarch, Aśoka, was much concerned with the spread of a particular code of conduct to be followed not only by his subjects but also by his officials. He got stone pillars erected and rocks chiselled for getting the royal edicts incised upon them. The pillars have, however, been adorned with animal capitals; but there is hardly any image of a deity belonging to this age, although the *Arthaśāstra*,¹ believed by most of the scholars to have been written by the Mauryan Prime Minister Kauṭilya, mentions the figures of certain gods and goddesses, to be installed within the precincts of a fort. Though it is yet a conjecture whether the animal capitals of Aśokan pillars suggested in a way the Buddha, it is clear that no iconographic study can be based on these. However, there are statues of a Yakṣa and a Yakṣiṇī belonging to this period, notable amongst them being the Didaraganja Yakṣi now housed in the Museum at Patna. These may represent minor deities accepted in the Buddhist pantheon.

The Śuṅga period witnessed the construction of notable Buddhist Stūpas, like the Bhārhut and the Sāñchi, which have been decorated with the railings and the gateways, on which, besides various decorative motifs, are found depicted the incidents connected with the life of the Buddha and the Jātaka stories. But nowhere in the art of Bhārhut or Sāñchi, the Buddha is represented in human form.

1. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 54.

Whenever his presence in a particular scene was found essential, the artists resorted to various symbols; but in these representations, Indra and Brahmā, the two Brahmanic deities, are found attending upon the Master, the former distinguished by his typical headdress and the latter by his coiffure of an anchorite. At these places, Lakṣmī (Śrī and Gaja) also appears in the role of Māyā Devī, the mother of the Buddha. Besides, there are figures of Nāgas, Yakṣas, and Devatās, of which the Nāga figures and the figure of Kupiro-Yakkho are of special interest for our study. The railings at Bodhgaya belonging to the same period also portray figures of Lakṣmī, besides that of Indra (as Śānti). These are useful in the study of the development of the iconography of Indra and Brahmā.

During the early centuries of christian era, in the reign of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva (1st-2nd century A.D.), two schools of Indian sculpture came into existence in the regions of Gandhāra and Yamunā valley with Taxila and Mathurā as their main centres. In Gandhāra images, the Buddha in most cases is attended by his two attendants, Indra and Brahmā, who are again characterised by their basket-like headdress and peculiar coiffure arrangement respectively. Images of Hārītī and Pāñchika (or Kubera) and those of certain Bodhisattvas are also interesting to study.

But the images from Mathurā belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period have a value of their own for the study of Hindu iconography. As a matter of fact, the earliest iconographic forms of most of the important gods and goddesses, with a few exceptions, seem to have been conceived first by the master artists who worked in Mathurā before and during the Kuṣāṇa period. This was evidently done with a distinct purpose of meeting the religious demands of the people who had come under the sway of the Bhāgavata cult centring round god Vāsudeva. We know from the *Mahābhāṣya*¹ of Pātañjali that temples dedicated to Keśava, Balarāma and Dhanapati Kubera had come into existence in the 2nd century B.C. Pātañjali² also refers to the twin deities, Samkarṣana and Vāsudeva together. The inscription from Nagari and Ghosundi (near Chittor) of almost the same time refer to similar monuments sacred to Vāsudeva and Samkarṣana. At Mathurā itself, the More Well inscription of the time of Soḍāsa (1st century B.C.) refers to a temple of the Five Heroes (Pañcha Viras). It is also known that a Garuḍadhvaṇa of Viṣṇu was also installed in the 1st century B.C. as an object of veneration to Viṣṇu. The Bhāgavata cult effected a religious and philosophical revolution so far as the Hindu society was concerned. It led to a kind of religious synthesis in Brahmanism. Buddhism also shared these influences equally strongly and a number of subsidiary deities aligned themselves in their proper places round the central and outstanding figure of the Buddha, as a result of which gods and goddesses like Kubera, Hārītī, Lakṣmī, Nāga etc. show affiliation to both Hinduism and Buddhism.

1. Pātañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, II.2.34.

2. *Ibid.*, II.2.24.

Unlike the Gandhāra school, the Mathurā school continued its activity unabated in the Gupta period when another new school of sculpture was established with Sarnath as its centre. And both the Mathurā and the Sarnath schools contributed to the cause of Indian iconography by preparing numerous images, both Brahmanical and Buddhist.

The Gupta period heralded a new epoch in the history of Indian architecture, as it was during this period that temples began to be constructed—at least the earliest extant temples belong to this age. Beginning from a humble structure consisting of a flat-roofed sanctum with a shallow porch in front of it, the temple was subsequently adorned with a *śikhara* which assumed the form of a tall and lofty spire in the mediaeval period. The mediaeval temples of Orissa, Khajuraho, Gwalior, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Kathiawad are wonderful creations of architectural art in the north Indian style. These lofty and imposing temples are not merely the houses of the gods where worship has to be offered to them, but they are also open museums for the study of the Indian images which display a large number of variety of the images of the gods and the goddesses, not only installed in their sanctums but also carved in bold relief on the body of them. These structural temples enriched with sculptural forms in high relief with an exuberance of details are overladen with a multiplicity of iconographic forms.

With an unusual expansion of Buddhism into Vajrayāna sect, much more original development is marked in the field of the Buddhist images in the mediaeval period which open a new vista for the study of the Buddhist iconography. A large number of variety of images, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical, was prepared, more particularly in Bengal and Bihar, during the Pāla and the Sena periods, out of black chlorite. Bronze statuettes from places like Nālandā and Kurkihāra in Bihar also add much to the study of the Buddhist as well as the Hindu iconography. Terracotta figurines are also of no less importance for the study of iconography. In this connection, reference may be made to a recent discovery of the figure of Hārītī from Chirand in N. Bihar in course of excavation in 1964.

Two other data, which are of epigraphic and numismatic character, have no little importance for the study of Indian iconography. These sources, hardly taken into account by the early writers, have very ably and systematically been studied by Dr. J.N. Banerjea. Coins discovered from different parts of northern India, besides indicating the manner in which the deities were represented in different times and places, also help us in determining the early iconographic types of various gods and goddesses depicted on them. These numismatic depictions are, however, usually based on the actual sculptural representations. Inscriptions are also of great avail to us. Besides recording the erection of some of the shrines and construction of the images and hinting at the peculiarities of various religious cults, on some rare

occasions, they even contain rough descriptions of the iconographic features of the deities. Again the copper plate grants and the seals attached to them sometimes contain the representations of various gods and goddesses. Besides these, the innumerable varieties of seals unearthed from different parts of northern India are also of utmost importance for they as well represent various forms of several divinities carved on them.

Although all those materials which go by the word 'Archaeology' form the primary source for this work, yet the importance of literary works cannot be minimised. As a matter of fact, in a work like this of Indian iconography, literary sources are rather a 'must' for they have great corroborative value. Although the Vedas, the Gr̥hyasūtras, the epics and the Smṛtis are not in the strict sense of the term works on iconography, yet their study is of immense value as they contain interesting details about the features of the gods and the goddesses in question. For a correct interpretation of the images, it is but necessary that one should have a good idea of mythologies which help a great deal in understanding the various scenes and iconographic features. The main sources, however, for the study of iconography are the Purāṇas, the Āgamas, the Tantras and the Śilpaśāstras. The Purāṇas are of great importance for the study of the development of Hindu iconography. Although casual references are frequently met with in almost all the Purāṇas, yet some of them have treated the subject more systematically. Some of the Purāṇas like the *Agni*, the *Matsya*, the *Padma* and the *Viṣṇu* contain sections dealing with the study of the images. Of these, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* has a masterly treatise on Indian iconography and painting, known as the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which may be rightly regarded as a veritable encyclopaedia on Hindu iconography.

The Āgamas are, however, greater in number than the Purāṇas. The principal Āgamas dealing with the iconographic subjects are the *Kāraṇāgama*, the *Suprabhedāgama*, the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*, and the *Vaikhānasāgama*. Each of these Āgamas contains elaborate details about the materials connected with the preparation, consecration and worship of several of the deities.

Similarly there are many other treatises. The Śilpaśāstras, the Śākta Tantras and the Samhitās also deal with the one or the other aspect of iconographic interest.

Besides these is the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, the study of which is also very essential. This work of Varāhamihira has a separate chapter dealing with iconography and iconometry, besides two other chapters, one on the installation of the images and the other on the selection of material for the construction of images. Based on the iconographic prescriptions of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* there seem to have been prepared a number of images of Brahmanical gods and goddesses.

Reference may also be made to the various *dhyāna mantras* of different deities which are incorporated in the works on rituals connected with the different cults.

They are the *dhyānas* of the different deities belonging to various Brahmanical cults and the *dhyānas* or the *sādhana*s of the deities belonging to the Vajrayāna Buddhism which present clear cut concept of the god in which his main iconographic features are delineated.

It is, however, by no means easy to determine the dates of the various texts on iconography and arrange them chronologically. Some of them, however, do not pose any serious difficulty. The date of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* has been definitely fixed in the 6th century A.D. Similarly Hemādri compiled his work in the 13th century A.D. and Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana wrote *Rūpamaṇḍana* and *Rūpāvatāra* in the 15th century A.D. But as Dr. J.N. Banerjea rightly observes, we are faced with a great difficulty when the question of the age of the bulk of the texts like the Purāṇas, the Āgamas and the Tantras is being taken up. 'The dates of most of these source books are not definitely known, and it is likely that many of them were composed at different periods'.¹ As suggested by Dr. J.N. Banerjea,² "some at least of the iconographic features of many of the Brahmanical divinities were based on the partially defined anthropomorphism or theriomorphism of their Vedic counterparts".

In a work like this on Indian iconography, it is but legitimate to expect that it should deal with various terms commonly used relating to different attributes held by the deities in their hands and various poses and attitudes exhibited by them; but it has purposely been dispensed with here mainly due to the fact that the matter has been discussed in greater details by the two eminent authorities, Sri T.A. Gopinatha Rao and Dr. J.N. Banerjea, in their works on Hindu iconography.

The present work cannot claim to be entirely an original one; but it would not be out of place if some of its salient features are enumerated here. Firstly, as far as it could be practicable, no pains have been spared to make the study of the minor divinities included in it sufficiently comprehensive by utilizing the archaeological materials exhaustively. Secondly, the representations of the various deities in stone sculptures, terracottas, metallic pieces, paintings and on coins and seals have been discussed in such a manner so that they may suggest the development of the iconographic features of the gods and the goddesses taken up for the purpose of study. Thirdly, wherever it could be possible, an attempt has been made to correlate the textual descriptions of the deities with their various kinds of representations. Fourthly, an endeavour has also been made to compare the characteristic features of the north Indian representations of the deities with those of their representations in the southern part of the country. Fifthly, an effort has also been made, wherever possible, to show how far the Brahmanical images compared with the Buddhist and the Jaina counterparts. And lastly, it has also been endeavoured to interpret and explain the various symbols, emblems and attributes, as well as the figures of the vehicles found in association with the representations of the gods and the goddesses dealt with here.

1. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 25.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

HINDU DEITIES

INDRA

THE most prominent of the gods in the *Ṛg-veda* is Indra, judging from the number of hymns addressed to him.¹ He is conceived as the god of the firmament in whose hands are the thunder and lightning and at whose command the refreshing showers fall to render the earth fruitful. In the *Ṛg-veda*,² Indra is described as the wielder of the thunderbolt (*vajra*), and, it is with this weapon that he is stated to have crushed and slain *Vṛtra*, the demon of drought, confining the waters within the clouds, from whose grasp the waters have to be wrenched free every year.³ Indra's chief epithet is, therefore, *Vṛtra-han* (slayer of *Vṛtra*), and, as such, he is the storm or thunder god that rends the clouds with his lightning-bolt and frees their waters.⁴ In an agricultural country like India, no wonder that the god supposed to bestow rain should have been held in high esteem and laudatory songs are addressed to him. The clouds that the winds brought up from the ocean were considered enemies who held their treasures in their fast embrace until, conquered by Indra, they were forced to pour them upon the parched soil, thereby turning the earth from wilderness into a garden.⁵

Indra continues to be an important deity in the epics, installed as the king of the gods, but he is no more as glorious as in the *Ṛg-veda*, rather he loses his importance gradually in the *Purāṇas* and becomes a minor divinity—*dikpāla* of the eastern quarter. In the epics, he is depicted as a divinity full of passion and helpless against the demons who vanquish him in battle. He rather amuses himself in the dances of the celestial nymphs and interferes with the penance of the sages, a nightmare to his suspicious mind.⁶ He is also guilty of having committed the grossest immorality of seducing the spouse of his spiritual teacher, Gautama, after having assumed the other form of that lady's august priestly husband for his own

1. Nearly 250 hymns have been devoted to Indra's praise, i.e. about 1/4th of the total number of the hymns in the *Ṛg-veda*.
2. *Rv.*, IV.22.2.
3. Majumdar, R.C., *Vedic Age*, p. 371.
4. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 178.
5. Wilkins, W.J., *Hindu Mythology*, pp. 45-46.
6. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*, p. 86.

purposes.¹ As a result of this stealthy dalliance, the sage cursed not only his wife but also the god, who in consequence lost his manhood,² and was punished by being defeated by Indrajit.³ He was also cursed by Gautama to carry about him a thousand disgraceful marks upon his body, which, at Indra's request, were changed from their original form into eyes.⁴ It may, however, be pointed out that Indra has been conceived as the god of firmament and his thousand eyes might have been imagined from the stars twinkling in the sky. Indra's only might, however, consists of his special capability of cutting the wings of mountains with his *vajra* or thunderbolt. Mountains, as a matter of fact, play an important role in bringing rains to the plains of India.

Indra has been described in the *Agni Purāṇa*⁵ as having a thunderbolt (*vajra*) as his emblem and elephant as his vehicle. According to the *Brhatsamhitā*,⁶ 'the elephant mount of Mahendra (Indra) is white and has four tusks; (the god) has a thunderbolt in his hand, and has as his cognisance the third eye placed horizontally on his forehead'.

The *Matsya Purāṇa*⁷ and the *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi*⁸ also mention him two armed with elephant as his *vāhana* and carrying *vajra* in one of his hands. The additional feature provided by these works is a lotus in the other hand. According to the *Suprabhedāgama*⁹ also, he has a thunderbolt in one of his hands; but has an elephant-goad in the other. Instead of a *vajra*, the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*¹⁰ gives him a *śakti* in his hand, the other hand having the elephant-goad. His vehicle, according to this work, is an elephant, alternatively a lion-throne.

Indra is described in the *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra*¹¹ as 'thousand-eyed, holding *vajra*, strong and powerful'. Dressed in forehead, a high-diadem (*kirīṭa*) and catching the club in his hand, he is to be represented in white garments with a long thread hanging from shoulder to the waist. A particular specification given by the text is that he should be shown in royal splendour with his *purohita*, the prime-minister.¹²

1. *Mbh.*, 5, 12, 6f; 5, 13, 9.

2. *Rām.*, 1, 48, 16f; 1, 49, 1f.

3. *Rām.*, 7, 30, 33.

4. *Mbh.*, 13, 41, 21.

5. *Agni P.*, 51/14 (*Indrī vajrī gajāruḍha.....*).

6. *Br. Samhitā*, ch. 57, v. 42.

7. *Matsya P.*, ch. 260, vv. 66ff.

8. *Abhilaṣit.*, 3/1/811.

9. Rao, *EHI*, II, App. B, p. 251.

10. *Aṃśumad.*, 46/62.

11. *Samarāṅgaṇa*, 77/42.

12. Shukla, D.N., *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting*, p. 338.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*,¹ which gives an elaborate description, mentions him four armed and three eyed and associates him with a four-tusked elephant as his vehicle. His two-armed consort, Śachī, is seated on his lap. He has a thunderbolt, elephant-goad and lotus in his hands, and with the remaining hand he embraces his wife Śachī. The *Rūpāvatāra*² also makes him four armed, but with different attributes, e.g. *aṅkuśa* and *kamaṇḍalu* held in two of his hands and the remaining two hands exhibited in the *varada* pose. The work also mentions him thousand eyed. Indra is described in identical terms in the *Śrītattvanidhi*³ as four armed with *vajra* and *aṅkuśa* in two of his hands and the remaining two hands showing the *abhaya* and the *varada* poses, and having Airāvata as his vehicle. The work also mentions him thousand eyed and fully jewelled.

He is usually two armed, though some works provide him with four arms, his attribute being a *vajra* in one of his hands and his vehicle an elephant, Airāvata, described as four tusked. Some works also enjoin that he should have a third eye horizontally marked on the forehead.⁴ The elephant and the thunderbolt of Indra indicate his original nature as god of rain for they represent the thunder-clouds which bring rain.

It would, however, be instructive to correlate the textual descriptions of Indra with his extant representations found in stone sculptures and paintings and on coins. The reverse side of the coins in the Pāñchāla series is of special interest for the study of Indian iconography in general and that of Indra in particular. On the reverse of certain Pāñchāla coins is the representation of a deity or his symbol, in most cases, the former, whose name forms as a rule a component of the issuer's name and who was his patron deity.⁵ On the reverse of Indramitra's coins, Indra is crudely represented in two different ways : (i) standing on a pedestal, facing and holding an uncertain object in his right hand, and a club appearing to hang down from the left,⁶ and (ii) inside a domed shrine (or an archway) where other details are absolutely lacking.⁷ Jayagupta's coins⁸ also show the latter device, marked by the same indistinctness.

On the coins of Eukratides, Antialkidas and a few other Indo-Greek rulers and on those of Maues, Indra appears in the garb of Zeus.⁹ On the 'kaviśiye-

1. *Viṣṇudh.*, Bk. III, ch. 50, 1-13.

2. *Rūpāvatāra*, ch. 14.

3. *Śrītattvanidhi*, p. 105.

4. Śiva has also a third eye on his forehead, but it is marked vertically.

5. Allan, *CCAI*, pl. CXVII.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX, 1 and 2.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX, 3, 4 and 5.

8. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII, 19 and pl. XXVII, 3.

9. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 148.

nagara-devatā coins of Eukratides,¹ the god (described as Zeus) is shown seated to left on throne holding wreath in the right hand and palm branch in the left; the forepart of an elephant, rarely the whole animal, appears on the right and a conical object in the left field. The same device appears also on the reverse of several hemidrachms of Antialkidas,² where the object in the left field is not distinct. Whitehead, who has doubted this identification, takes the enthroned deity to be female, standing for Demeter or Tyche.³ Now, on the authority of Huien-tsiang, Rapson⁴ has identified the conical object to be a mountain—the pi-lo-sho-lo mountain to the south-west of Kapiśā the presiding genius of which was the elephant. Huien-tsiang has also mentioned Si-pi-to-fatzu, a suburban city of Kapiśā, which, according to Watters, is the Chinese transliteration of Śvetavatālaya (the residence of Śvetavat, which is the name of Indra).⁵ Śvetavatālaya and Indrapura are thus presumably one and the same, and, as Indra is said to be the tutelary deity of the latter, according to *Mahāmāyūrī*,⁶ so it is more than probable that the deity represented on the coins is Indra in his theriomorphic as well as anthropomorphic forms, the latter being evidently identified with Zeus, the Greek counterpart of the Indian king of gods (*devarāja*).⁷ An interesting silver coin of Antialkidas in the British Museum shows the same deity standing or advancing to the left with a long sceptre in his left hand and the right hand hanging down, and, the elephant, with its trunk at the salute. Nike at its head and a bell round its neck, also striding to the left. Whitehead has remarked : “Apparently this quaint design shows the elephant deity and his elephant indulging in a victorious march past.”⁸ Another silver coin in the collection of the Fitz William Museum, Cambridge,⁹ shows an exactly similar device on its reverse. Still another coin shows Zeus-Indra seated on a throne, holding Nike in his extended right hand; the fore-part of the elephant with its trunk at the salute is facing the enthroned deity.¹⁰ According to Banerjea,¹¹ ‘the juxtaposition of the animal and the deity appears to suggest that in this representation of Greek Zeus, the king of Olympic gods, we also find the Indian Indra, the Devarāja (the king of the gods)’. As such, there are simultaneous theriomorphic and anthropomorphic representations of Indra in the

1. Whitehead, R.B., *PMC*; I, p. 26, pl. III, 131.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. III, 170, 172 and 189.
3. *Num. Chronicle*, 1947, pp. 29-31.
Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 148, f.n.1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 148, f.n. 1.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 148; Dr. Banerjea accepts Rapson's suggestion that it stands for Zeus-Indra (*JNSI*, 1950, Presidential address, pp. 7-8).
8. *Num. Chronicle*, 1923, pp. 325-26, pl. XV, fig. 4.
9. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 149, pl. X, 1 and 2.
10. *Ibid.*, pl. X, 2.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

coin devices.¹ Some copper coins of Maues show a new representation of Indra. On the reverse of these coins, he is represented enthroned with a long sceptre in his left hand and his right hand placed on the shoulder of a human figure.² Gardner describes the latter as a 'small winged female figure'; but the wing and the female character are quite indistinct, and, as such, what has been described as wings, appear, according to Banerjea,³ the prongs of a *vajra*. Gardner has, however, rightly suggested the figure 'to be an embodiment of thunderbolt',⁴ for in Indian art attributes have sometimes been placed in the hands of divinities as personified beings (*āyudha-puruṣas*).⁵ The Chakra-vikrama type of gold coin issued by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya also bears the figure of an *āyudha-puruṣa*, named Chakra-puruṣa, the bearer of Viṣṇu's *chakra*.⁶ The hellenistic representations of the god in the coins, as suggested by Banerjea,⁷ tally partially with the description of his images in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*.⁸ Nothing can, however, be precisely said if the elephant's head appearing on some copper coins of Demetrius and on those of Maues has anything to do with Śvetavat, the mount of Indra; Demetrius and Lysias are, however, sometimes shown with elephant's scalp on the top of their diademed heads.⁹

In the Mathurā art also, Indra is found represented independently. The Archaeological Museum at Mathurā has a torso of a male figure, which on account of a thunderbolt in the left hand can be identified as *vajra-pāṇi* Indra.¹⁰ A conspicuous *vanamālā* on his left shoulder and arm is also suggestive of the figure to be that of a Brahmanical deity. The sculpture, hailing from Tārai, stylistically belongs to the early Kuṣāṇa period.

The Mathurā Museum possesses a curious figure, in three fragments, acquired from a well in the compound of the present Museum.¹¹ In the centre, there is a bust

1. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
2. Gardner, *BMC*, p. 70, nos. 12-13, pl. XVI, 9.
3. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 149.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 149, pl. X, 3.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
6. Altekar, *GGC*, *BH*, p. xcii and *JNSI*, XIII, p. 181.
7. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
8. *Bṛ. Sam.*, ch. 57, v. 42.
9. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 150, f.n. 1; also Banerjea, J.N., 'Indian Elements on Coin Devices of Early Foreign Rulers of India' (*IHQ*, XIV, 1938, pp. 293-308, figs. 1-4).
10. *ASIAR*, 1909-10, p. 76, pl. XXVIII, b.
Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XXXIX, fig. b.
Agrawala, V.S., *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 44, no. E.24.
Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yakṣas*, pt. i, pl. 15, fig. 2, where this image is doubtfully identified as Vajrapāṇi Yakṣa.
11. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44 (nos. 392-95).
Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 46, pl. XXXIX, a and b.

with the right hand raised in the *abhaya-mudrā* and wearing a garland of flowers, a necklace, armlets and bracelets, and having on its head a cylindrical *mukuta*, which suggests its identification with Indra. This head-dress, as already seen, has been used to distinguish the god in his earlier representations at Sāñchī and Bodhgayā and in the Buddhist compositions from Gandhāra and Mathurā.¹ This identification is further supported by the presence of a *vajra* in the left hand of the figure projecting at the back of the head of the main figure. The head and the right hand of the figure are lost; but from the break at the shoulder, it is possible to infer that there were two other figures, one each projecting from the shoulders of the superimposed bust. Emerging from the right shoulder of the central figure is the bust of a Nāga with a canopy of serpent-hood and holding a drinking cup in the left hand. The corresponding Nāga figure attached to the left shoulder is lost. It is thus evident that the total number of acolyte figures was five, and this is also the number of the superimposed female figures radiating at the back of the head of the 'Queen of the Nāgas'.² The reverse side of this sculpture is carved prominently with the foliage of Aśoka tree. This feature is also similar to the Nāgarājñi sculpture. Coomaraswamy has identified it as that of serpent shouldered (*prḍākusānu*) Indra, an epithet which, according to Agrawala³, can be traced back to the time of the *Rg-veda*,⁴ and may be considered that the Mathurā "Serpent Queen"⁵ was its female counterpart.⁶ From its style, the image belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period and is made of buff sandstone.

One of the beautiful figures of Indra has been found in the temple at Bhumrā.⁷ The two-armed deity is shown, within a chaitya arch, seated on a throne with both his legs dangling down and holding a thunderbolt in his hand. The work is of the Gupta period. Practically, a similar representation of the god is found on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneśwar⁸ (c. 650 A.D.) in which again he sits on a low couch with his legs hanging down, but holding a *daṇḍa* in his two hands, placed horizontally on both the knees. Obviously Indra is represented here in the role of 'king of the gods', holding the *daṇḍa*, the emblem of royalty in his hand. In both the representations, his elephant mount is conspicuous by its absence.

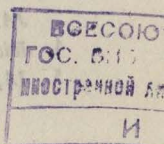
1. Cf. Mathurā Museum architrave no. M. 3; also another relief from Mathurā, now in the possession of M. Rosenberg of Paris, which is illustrated in : Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Iconography*, Indra, fig. 7; also Railing Pillar, Mathurā Museum, No. 1616.
2. Mathurā Museum No. F. 2.
3. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
4. *Rv.*, VIII.17.5
5. Mathurā Museum No. F. 2.
6. *The Darker Side of the Dawn*, p. 18; *Smithsonian Misc. Collection*, vol. 94, no. 1.
7. *MAI-16*, pp. 15 and 31, pl. XIV, c.
8. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 70, fig. 35B.

The magnificent panel in the Daśāvātāra temple at Deogarh, Jhansi district,¹ belonging to the late 6th century A.D., which depicts Viṣṇu as Śeṣa-śāyin, has in its upper part a number of divinities on their respective vehicles who had assembled to pay their homage to the Lord. Indra, who is also one amongst them, is shown seated on the back of his Airāvata, holding a *vajra* in his raised right hand and trying to keep his drapery in position with his left hand placed on the thigh. A much similar representation of Indra is to be found in an excellent sculpture from Kanauj, illustrating the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.² The august union is witnessed by a number of gods and celestial beings including Indra. Here also Indra is depicted as seated on the elephant Airāvata to right with his left leg folded and placed on the seat, the right leg being not visible. He is two armed, keeping his left hand on the head of his mount and the right one slightly raised is holding some thing indistinct, most probably his special emblem, the *vajra*. An attendant, probably the *mahaut*, is seated behind the god on the back of the animal with his right hand raised, probably in a bid to make the animal move more swiftly (Fig. 1). The magnificent sculpture of Kalyāṇasundara—Śiva from Kaman (Rajasthan) also shows Indra along with other Dikpālas in somewhat similar manner as also depicted in the image from Kanauj. Both these sculptures can be dated to the Pratihāra period, 8th-9th century A.D.³

Of approximately the same date, there is a much mutilated image of Indra in the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā of which both the arms and both the legs below the knees are missing and so also is damaged the nose of the god.⁴ Indra can, however, be identified only by the figure of his mount, the *Airāvata*, whose lower portion is also broken. The elephant, facing to the right, is seen standing at the back of its master.

The figure of Indra, the guardian of the eastern quarter, is also represented in a remarkable sculpture facing east on the south-eastern wall of the main temple at Paharpur,⁵ which on ground of style has been assigned to the late Gupta period and ranks high amongst the products of the age. Made out of grey sandstone, the deity is depicted standing with two arms and halo behind his head. His hair falls in curls on his shoulders. The object in his right hand cannot be precisely identified—a small object, which, if a *vajra*, is quite unlike

1. *MAI*, pp. 15 and 31, pl. X.
Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 40.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. 68.
Goswami, A., *Indian Temple Sculpture*, pl. 15.
3. Sharma, B.N., *Oriental Art* (N.S.), XVIII, 1, pp. 89-90, fig. 1.
4. Joshi, N.P., *Mathurā ki Mūrtikalā*, fig. no. 77 (Acc. No. 46,3226).
5. Saraswati, S.K., *Early Sculptures of Bengal*, pp. 60-62, fig. 15.
MAI, No. 55, pp. 46-47, pl. XXVII, d.
Gupta, C.C. Das, *Paharpur and Its Monuments*, p. 27, pl. IX, a,



its representations elsewhere. He has, however, a third eye marked horizontally on his forehead, which is a feature quite peculiar in this respect, but not unknown in the texts. The other cognisance that leads to his identification is the elephant Airāvata shown standing behind the god. The god is fully bejewelled, wearing a beaded necklace, a pair of *kuṇḍalas*, armlets, bracelets, stringed-girdle, *udarabandha*, and a jewelled diadem.

Reliefs on the outer wall of the Sun temple at Osiā (c. 8th-9th century A.D.) include a figure of Indra,¹ standing in an elaborate niche. Indra, two armed, stands in *tribhaṅga*, holding a double-headed *vajra* in his upraised right hand and placing the left hand on the waist. He is also putting on the *vaijayanti-mālā* as required by the texts. His head-gear is formed of a flat-topped cap with attractive perforated designs. His vehicle, the elephant, standing behind him is much smaller in proportion and practically lifeless in appearance.

Images of Indra from Assam also show identical features. A large rock-cut image of the god seen near Pāṇḍughāṭa, Kamrup,² is two armed standing in *sambhaṅga* pose with two female attendants by his side, and his vehicle, the Airāvata below. The objects in his hands are not clearly discernible, probably a thunderbolt in the right hand, and a lotus flower (*pārijāta*) in the left. A unique figure of Indra with usual attributes was found near Chhatrakāra temple at Gauhati.³ The deity, slightly flabby, stands on a pedestal with the figure of an elephant below. Of the two hands, the right is in the *varada* and the left in the *abhaya mudrā*. What renders the image unique is that the deity has a canopy of five snake hoods, and above it is the *kīrtti-mukha*. Below the *kīrtti-mukha* are two flying Vidyādhara, one on each side. On each side is an attendant, a female on the right and a male on the left. Dikshit⁴ observes : "A five-hooded ornament or accompaniment is not associated either with Śiva or with Indra. The elephant on the pedestal certainly indicates the figure as Indra, as it is possible that an attempt has been made to identify Indra with Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, who is always represented with such snake-hoods. In fact the appellation Upendra given to Viṣṇu indicates Indra as an elder brother of Viṣṇu and thus identifiable with Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa.....the general idea which associates the attributes of Indra and Balarāma, in this figure, is hinted....." The Bhagalpur Grant of the Pāla ruler, Nārāyaṇa Pāla,⁵ also seems to be hinting at such a relation between Viṣṇu and Indra in which it is mentioned that 'Dharmapāla acquired the sovereignty of the three worlds, which he had acquired by defeating

1. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 55.

2. Barua, B.K., *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 192.

3. Barua, B.K., *op. cit.*, p. 192, fig. 72.
JARS, IX, pp. 88-92.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 92; Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

5. *IA*, XV, pp. 304f.

Indra and his other enemies, to the begging Chakrāyudha (Viṣṇu) who had descended to the earth as Dwarf¹ and on the basis of which Kielhorn¹ suggested Chakrāyudha to be the younger brother of Indrarāja, who has been identified with Indrāyudha, who, according to Jināsena, ruled in the north in 783-84 A.D.²

The temple of Brahmeśvara (c. 1060 A.D.) in Bhubaneshwar has also a figure of Indra riding an elephant and holding a thunderbolt in the right hand and a *pārijāta* flower in the left.³

Indra at Khajuraho occupies the eastern side of the south-eastern corners of the temples. He is usually four armed, though his two-armed images are also not unknown. One of the two-armed images has a *vajra* in the left hand and a goad in the right; while the other has also a *vajra* in the left hand but the right hand is placed on the waist. Of the four-armed images of Indra, most of them have only one, two or three arms preserved, others being broken. Some of the images have all the arms damaged. Usually the first hand is held in the *varada* or the *abhaya* pose or it rests on the waist (*kaṭyāvalāmbita*), the second has a *vajra* or an *aṅkuśa*, the third has an *aṅkuśa* or a *vajra* and the fourth hand has a *kamaṇḍalu* or a *vajra* or it is *kaṭyāvalāmbita*. He is generally shown standing in the *ṭṛbhaṅga* and sometimes in the *abhaṅga* pose. He has been provided with the *karaṇḍa mukuṭa*, but in rare cases he has *kirīṭa* or *jaṭā mukuṭa*. His vehicle the *airāvata* has been carved seated or standing on the pedestal facing to left or to right. One of the images has the figure of a *vajra* carved on the pedestal. This is possibly due to the fact that in this particular image, the god does not hold this attribute in his hand. Usually there are no attendants; but in one case, there is a male attendant on the left and in the other a female attendant on the right side. On the pedestals of some of the images, a devotee has been represented in the *añjali mudrā*. In one example, Indra is attended upon by a female with a flywhisk with another attendant behind her on either side of the god. Each of the attendants has one of his hands resting on the waist and the other in the *stūti mudrā*. A devotee with his palms joined in the *añjali mudrā* is also carved there.⁴

Two Ālīṅga Mūrtis of Indra and Śacī have also been found at Khajuraho. One of the representations occurring on the Chitrāgupta temple has the head of the god missing.⁵ He is standing in the *ṭṛbhaṅga* with his wife Śacī standing on his left side. The first and the third hands of the god are broken and so also the

1. *IA*, XX, pp. 187f.

2. *IA*, XV, p. 141.

3. Panigrahi, K.C., *op. cit.*, p. 82.

4. Awasthi, R., *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen*, pp. 207-09, figs. 85-86.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

weapon in the second hand is damaged which may have been an *aṅkuśa*. By his left hand, he is embracing his wife Śāchī and placing it on her breast. There are male and female flywhisk bearers on proper sides. On the pedestal, there is an elephant on the side of Indra but a devotee in *añjali mudrā* on the side of Śāchī. At the back, there are two female attendants, and on the *prabhāvali*, there are Śiva and Brahmā. In another example of the Ālīṅgana Mūrti appearing on the Dulahdeo temple, Indra is shown seated on a lotus pedestal in *lalitāsana* with Śāchī on his left lap in the same pose.¹ Indra and Śāchī are in close embrace of each other as in the preceding example. The god has a *karaṇḍa mukuṭa* over his head. His both the right hands are broken and the weapon in the upper left hand being broken is difficult to make out. The left hand of Śāchī is damaged while her right hand is placed on the shoulder of the lord. The mount *Airāvata* is carved on the pedestal. On either side, there is an attendant and also a female garland bearer behind each of them. It may be noted that the earliest representation of Indra with Śāchī has been found represented on a terracotta plaque from Nagar in Rajasthan which is datable in the Śuṅga period.²

The stone slab of the Pāla period stuck on the outer wall of the compound of the Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya depicts the figures of five divinities including that of Indra.³ Indra, represented as a beautiful youth, is shown seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on the back of an elephant which is facing to left. In the present instance, Indra differs from the known examples in the manner in which he is shown riding his vehicle. The elephant is not shown in its entirety but indicated only by its head along with the trunk which is curled up in such a way that the lotus held in the abscis fully supports the pendent leg of the god. A new variety is thus afforded by the representation of Indra in the present panel.

The Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya has also a fully intact though considerably weather worn independent image of Indra. The god is seated on a throne in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, the left leg being tucked up on the seat and the right one hanging. He is placing his left hand on his thigh while he is holding an object somewhat indistinct, probably a thunderbolt, in his right hand. Below his seat are two miniature figures of elephants as if they are supporting the seat over which the god is seated. The god puts on a *karaṇḍa mukuṭa*. There are half a dozen miniature male figures, three on each side, two of them seated in the *añjali mudrā*. The sculpture may be dated in around 12th century A.D. (Fig. 2).

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10, fig. 87.

2. Agrawala, R.C., *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, vol. XIX, no. 4, pp. 45-46 and figure.

3. *Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume*, Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute, pp. 710-11 and plate. See Plate.

The temple of Brahmeśvara (c. 1060 A.D.) in Bhubaneśwar¹ has also a figure of Indra riding an elephant and holding a thunderbolt in the right hand and a *pārijāta* flower in the left.

Amongst other representations of Indra, mention may be made of the Patna Museum image of the Buddha attended by Brahmā and Indra,² of Revanta from Nālandā in which the parasol over the head of the deity is held by Indra,³ and again of the fierce-looking Bhṛkuṭī from Baḍgāon,⁴ near Nālandā, having Gaṇeśa and Indra standing on her either side. Indra in these representations has been shown standing and two armed, holding his characteristic emblem *vajra* in one of his hands, sometimes accompanied by his elephant and also wearing his peculiar tiara over his head.

In the Buddhist literature, Indra retains some of the characteristics attributed to him in the Vedic and the epic literature. He is described under the name of Śakra as the lord of *trayastrīṃśa* heaven, living in the palace '*vejayanta*' (i.e. *vaijayanta*), riding the elephant *Ēravata* (*Airāvata*) and sporting with his wife Suja (*Śachi*). He is also mentioned as wielding the thunderbolt, enjoying all pleasures, and being attended by celestial damsels of great beauty.⁵ The description of Indra (Śakra) as given by Beal⁶ is also exactly the same as found in the Hindu works. Another Buddhist work, *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvali*,⁷ which describes the god as riding the *Airāvata* and holding *vajra* in one of his hands, adds that he should have the breast of a woman in the other, which is an object quite peculiar, the exact purport of which is not clear. It is just possible such an object in the hand of Indra is placed with a view to emphasise, rather to ridicule, his sensuous character as known from the epic literature. The description of Indra as afforded both by the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara Jaina texts are exactly similar to those given in the Brahmanical texts, as according to them too, the characteristics of Indra are his thunderbolt and *Airāvata*.⁸ He is also mentioned as the guardian of the eastern quarter and Śachi is said to be his wife.⁹ In one text, he is described as having thousand eyes.¹⁰

1. Panigrahi, K.C., *op. cit.*, p. 82.

2. Sinha, B.P., *Bhāratiya Kalā ko Bihāra kī Dena*, p. 138 (no. 9591).

3. Ghosh, A., *Guide to Nalanda*, p. 33 (Nalanda Museum no. 20, 820). Cf. Patna Museum no. 1722.

4. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 138-39.

Diwakar, R.R., *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 343.

5. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

Jātaka, IV, no. 450, p. 40; V, no. 535, p. 203; I, no. 78, p. 1.

6. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 78.

7. *Niṣpaṇṇayogāvali*, p. 61.

8. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 148-49.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

Some of the earliest sculptural representations of Indra (Buddhist Śakra) are to be found in the Buddhist relief compositions of Sāñchī and in the art of Gandhāra and Mathurā. Time and again, in the Buddhist legends, Indra and Brahmā figure as divine beings subordinate to the Buddha and attending upon him. In the scenes which claim the presence of both Indra and Brahmā, the former is recognised by means of his peculiar tiara with which his head is adorned, mainly on account of the epithet '*Kirīṭin*' being particularly applied to him, and the latter is to be distinguished by his coiffure as he has been given the special head of hair of a Brāhmaṇa anchorite. Indra adorned with such a head-dress (which continued to be his special mark even in the Gandhāra and the Mathurā schools of sculpture) makes his appearance in the representations of the *Śyāma Jātaka*¹ and the *Viśvantra Jātaka*² depicted on the inner face of the top panel of the right pillar of the western gateway and on the lowest architrave of the northern gateway respectively. Of the two divinities standing on either side of the Buddha with the tops of their heads preserved, Brahmā has the round tuft of hairs on his head, whereas the cylindrical tiara of the other declares him to be Indra.³ Sāñchī has other figures of Indra as well in which the god is represented with his thunderbolt accompanied by his wife Śachī and his mount Airāvata. The divine mansion of Indra (*vaijayanta*) is depicted in the middle of the lintel.⁴ Indra also figures in the scenes representing 'the Festival of the *Chūḍā* of the Bodhisattva in Indra's heaven'.⁵ The *Chūḍā* of the Bodhisattva holding the place of honour under an umbrella, as at Bhārhut, is worshipped to the accompaniment of dancers and musicians. Indra is shown arriving from the left on the threshold of his own heaven accompanied by his wife Śachī and his elephant Airāvata, on the forehead of which he is holding the precise relic, and which he is venerating close by together with his heavenly companies.

Of greater iconographic interest is the figure of Indra on the north-eastern corner pillar at Bodhgayā⁶ in which the deity is represented as a man carrying a bundle of grass in his right hand. Here Indra is shown in the guise of the Brāhmaṇa Śānti, in allusion to the occasion, when disguised as a gardener the chief of the gods offered the straw (a handful of *kuśa* grass) to the Sublime One on which the latter took his seat beneath the Bodhi-tree. In this instance as well, the figure of the god is characterised by the peculiar basket-like tiara on his head. The figure of Indra is so deeply carved as to seem almost as if stepping out from the flat ground of the

1. Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, p. 248, pl. 65, a, 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 248, pl. 29.3.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 248, pl. 70a (cf. pls. 70b & 126b).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 229, pls. 95 and 99 (also at the top of the left jamb of the western gateway, p. 122, and the small gateway of the Stūpa 3, p. 237).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 227 (cf. for inscribed relief from Bhārhut, Cunningham, A., *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, pl. 16, fig. 1).
6. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *La Sculpture de Bodhgaya*, pl. XXXIX.

pillar.¹ It is as though the sculptor was trying to suggest the figure actually walking forward to present the bundle of grass to the Bodhisattva.²

The stereotyped feature of Indra having a basket-like tall head-dress, as already referred to, continues to remain much identical in the reliefs from Gandhāra and Mathurā. Indra can be seen in the reliefs representing the 'Nativity of the Buddha'. This scene which has been frequently represented in the Gandhāra art conforms practically to the same stereotyped pattern with occasional variations. One of the best specimens representing this particular incident is the Berlin relief which was formerly in the collection of the Longworth Dames.³ The queen Māyā is shown standing beneath a *śāla* tree, grasping one of its branches. She is being supported by her sister Mahāprajāpati or a female attendant. The divine child who emerges from the right side of the queen is being received by Indra in his outstretched hands on a piece of cloth (in accordance with the legend of the conception) and Brahmā is standing behind him. Indra is here distinguished by means of his characteristic basket-like high head-dress and Brahmā by his typical coiffure.

The story of Indra desiring to reverence the Buddha while the latter was meditating in a solitary grotto (*Indra-śāla* cave), not far from Bodhgayā, is well known.⁴ One of the sculptures in the Bhārhut railing is labelled as '*Indraśāla-guhā*'. The reliefs representing this very theme from Mamane-Dheri near Charsada in the Peshawar Museum and also from Lorian-Tangai in the Indian Museum at Calcutta are a few of the noteworthy sculptures of the Gandhāra school. The latter⁵ is an

1. Bachhofer, L., *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, p. 27, pl. 39.

2. Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 60-61, pl. 19.

3. Smith, V.A., *HFAIC*, pp. 61-62, pl. 36.

Banerji, R.D., *EISMS*, pp. 51-52.

Cf. the relief representing the Nativity Scene from Lorian-Tangai in :

Grunwedel, A., *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 112-13, fig. 64.

Majumdar, N.G., *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, pt. ii, p. 38, pl. VII.A.

Other reliefs are illustrated in :

Ancient Monuments of India, figs. 97, 100 and 136. Marshall, however, describes a relief in which Indra is absent. Regents of the four quarters take the place of Indra and Brahmā, and the four deities on the right of Māyā are all wearing the same head-dress : Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pp. 77-78, fig. 99.

4. The story is given in :

Sakka-panha-suttanta (*Dīghanikāya*, vol. II), pp. 263ff.

Beal, S., *Si-yū-ki*, vol. II, p. 180.

„ „ *Travel of Fah-hian*.

„ „ *Foe-Kone-Ki*, pp. 262-63.

Hardy, S., *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 298f.

Rhys Davids, *Buddha Birth Stories*, p. 125.

5. *Proc. A.S. Bengal*, 1898, pp. 186f.

Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 140-42, fig. 94.

Foucher, *AGBG*, I, fig. 246.

elaborate composition which depicts the Buddha seated on a throne in meditation in a cave, while tongues of flame, kindled by the radiance of his being, lick the walls. The woods are represented by the trees, birds and animals. Indra (Śakra) is seen approaching the Buddha with folded hands, and an attendant holds an umbrella over his head. The basket-like peculiar tall head-dress over the head of Indra is particularly to be noted. Of about the same age, but entirely different in style, is the relief from Mamane-Dheri¹ which also features Indra's visit to the Buddha in the Indrasāila cave. What is particularly to be noted with regard to Indra in this relief is that while in the former, Indra has been represented in person with a tall head-dress, here he is represented by his elephant Airāvata, the front half part of which can be seen. The elephant is shown as raising his trunk in reverence (salute) as if paying respect to the Buddha. To emphasise the divine character of the animal and to symbolise the presence of the god, the divine rider, a parasol is carved over the head of the elephant.

Indra is also found associated with the Buddha in various other reliefs of the Gandhāra school. He is present when the Buddha is being given the first bath,² at the time of his flight from his palace at Kapilvastu (*mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*),³ even while the gods exhort him to renounce the world,⁴ when he delivers his First Sermon at Sārnāth,⁵ and also during the performance of his miracles at Śrāvastī.⁶ Everywhere Indra is shown reverentially, sometimes holding a parasol over the head of the Master, and he is always to be distinguished by his peculiar head-dress; sometimes he is haloed.

As in the sculptures of the Gandhāra school, so also in the Buddhist reliefs from Mathurā, Indra is to be recognised by his characteristic basket-like head-dress. This can well be illustrated by means of the bas-relief representing Indra's visit to the Master in the Indrasāila cave.⁷ Buddha is shown seated in the cave to the right, while Indra followed by a *chaurī*-bearer and the elephant Airāvata approach him

1. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92, fig. 118.

Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 58, pl. 30, a.

2. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, fig. 155.

Ingholt, H., *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, p. 52, nos. 13-15.

3. Spooner, *Handbook to the Peshawar Museum*, pp. 1, 57-58.

Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Peshawar Museum*, pp. 27-28, 79.

Ingholt, *op. cit.*, p. 60, no. 45.

4. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 16, no. 7, pl. IX, e.

Ingholt, *op. cit.*, p. 58, no. 37.

5. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, p. 16, no. 5, pl. VIII.

Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 152.

Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, nos. 75-76.

6. *Ibid.*, nos. 252-54.

7. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. LIII, b (pl. I, fig. no. 1).

Proc. of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1898, pp. 186-89.

Ashton, L., *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 28, no. 59.

from the left. Indra with his hands folded in *añjali* pose is distinguished by his cylindrical head-gear. In the relief representing the Birth of the Buddha also, he is characterised by a similar feature.¹

Thus, a survey of the north Indian figures of Indra would show that the artists in the northern part of the country resorted to various modes in representing the deity, as a result of which figures of Indra resolve into certain distinct types. (i) On the Pañchāla coins, he, either, stands on a pedestal with an uncertain object in his hand and a club hanging down from the left, or, inside a domed shrine, where other details are lacking. (ii) On the Indo-Greek coins, he appears in the garb of Zeus, sometimes wreath and palm-branch in his hands, sometimes with a long spear in the right hand and at times holding Nike in his right hand along with the fore-part of an elephant having its trunk at salute. (iii) On coins of Maues, he is shown with a long sceptre in his left hand and his right hand placed on a human figure, identified as the *āyudha-puruṣa* with a thunderbolt in his hand. (iv) In the Buddhist relief compositions on the gateways at Sāñchī and from Gandhāra and Mathurā, he is distinguished by his peculiar basket-like head-dress. (v) In the Bodhgayā figure, besides wearing his peculiar tiara, he is shown with a bundle of grass as Brāhmaṇa Śānti. (vi) In stone sculptures, he is represented either seated or standing, holding a thunderbolt in one of his hands, the other being in *abhaya* or *varada* pose or *kaṭyavalambita* or holding some flower (*pārijāta*), and also accompanied by his elephant mount, which is absent in earlier sculptures from Bhumrā and Bhubaneśwar. Besides these, there are two rare sculptures, one from Mathurā and the other from Assam, the former showing Indra as serpent-shouldered (*prḍāku-sānu*) and the latter with a canopy of five-serpent hoods over his head depicting him as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, a form of Balarāma.

Amongst the south Indian representations of Indra, mention may be made of three noteworthy sculptures, one from Bhājā and two others at Ellorā. Rao has also illustrated two figures of Indra from the south. The Bhājā relief² depicts a gigantic Indra as a royal personage, with one attendant seated behind him and bearing a standard, riding on an enormous elephant which is striding over a broad landscape, holding in its trunk an uprooted tree. The delicately decorated Indra-sabhā, a Jaina cave at Ellorā (cave no. 33) has within it two boldly carved figures of Indra—one highly ostentatious and the other a simple but dignified representation.

1. Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura and Other Antiquities*, pl. CV.

Vogel, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, p. 166.

Banerji, *EISMS*, p. 52.

2. Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, p. 25, fig. 27.

Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 59.

In the former,¹ a bulky figure of the god is seen seated upon his elephant, attended by two servants, in the *ardhaparyāṅka*, with his left leg tucked up and folded on the back of his mount, the right one hanging down. Above a heavy foliage of tree arranged in the form of a crescent, on which peacocks are seated, overshadows the figure of the god. Indra is two armed, both placed on the thighs, but the objects held in them are lost. Besides other ornaments, he has a highly decorated conical head-dress. The other figure² is also boldly carved, depicting the god seated on the elephant, with both the arms kept on the thighs. He seems to hold his characteristic weapon, the thunderbolt, in his left hand and a fruit or unblossomed lotus (*pārijāta*) in his right hand. Besides the above two-armed figures, those illustrated by Rao have four arms. One of them from Chidambaram³ is shown seated astride upon his Airāvata. His two front hands are in *abhaya* and *varada* poses, whereas the back upraised hands hold the *vajra* and the *aṅkuśa*. The other stone sculpture⁴ again shows the god seated on elephant to right but in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose. His front right hand is kept in the *varada* pose and holds an *akṣamālā* in it, the front left hand carries a *kamaṇḍalu*, the back right and the back left hands hold *aṅkuśa* and *vajra* respectively. The head is adorned with a *jaṭāmukuṭa* and a number of ornaments; besides a *yajñopavīta* adorns his chest. The south Indian figures of Indra thus do not exhibit as many types as known from the northern part of the country. The sculptural representations of the god, however, do not exhibit marked difference from the north Indian counterparts, excepting that some of them in the South have been endowed with four hands, which we do not find in the case of the north Indian figures.

1. Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 132, pl. 242.
Frederic, L., *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, pl. 152.
Gangoly, O.C., *The Art of the Rāshtrakūṭas*, pp. 23-24.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. 33.

3. Rao, E.H., II, ii, p. 520, pl. CL.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. CLI.

AGNI

ONE of the eight *dikpālakas*, Lord Agni, the god of fire, is regarded as the guardian deity of the south-eastern quarter of the universe. He is said to exist in all the three regions, as fire on the earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky. Like most of the *dikpālakas*, he occupied a prominent place during the Vedic period,¹ rather even more for every Veda commenced with an invocation to him. He formed a triad with Sūrya and Indra. Later on, he is supposed to have incorporated himself into Śiva of the Hindu pantheon, and, therefore, considered to be the father of Kārttikeya. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*,² Kārttikeya is stated to be the son of Agni and Gaṅgā. The *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*³ gives a very interesting story of Kārttikeya having been begotten by Agni and Svāhā. It would, however, also be useful to refer to the fact that the *vāhana* of Skanda-Kārttikeya, the war-god, is the peacock; and that particular peacock is described as the peacock of Pāvaki. The relationship between the dancing flames and the bright gold spotted plumage of the peacock need hardly be described in detail.⁴ In later period, however, on account of other sectarian gods and goddesses having come into prominence, he was relegated into background as the presiding deity of the south-eastern quarter.

In the *Rg-veda*,⁵ Agni is assigned a flaming head or three heads and seven rays, having three tongues, four horns, three feet and seven arms. One of the hymns says that he faces in all the directions, while another mentions that he is footless and headless.⁶ In the *Mahābhārata*,⁷ Agni is described as the son of Anila, the Wind-god, having seven red tongues, seven faces, a huge mouth, red neck, tawny eyes, bright gleaming hair, and golden seed, 'the first dispeller of darkness created

1. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 88 : 'Next to Indra, He (Agni) is the most prominent of the Vedic gods. He is celebrated in at least 200 hymns of the *Rg-veda*.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I.37.

3. *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvan*, ch. 229, vs. 15-19.

4. A suggestion very kindly made by Sri S.V. Sohoni, I.C.S., Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar, and Chief Editor, Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

5. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 88f.

6. *Rg-veda*, 2.3.1 etc. and 4.1.11.

7. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 97.

by Brahman.' The Vedic and the epic descriptions of Agni's appearance are, therefore, not really anthropomorphic, but metaphorical imagery. He is, however, not described in the *Brhatsamhitā*, one of the earliest texts on iconography. The most detailed description of the god comes from the *Viṣṇudharmottara*¹ according to which he is bearded, four armed, four tusked, three eyed, riding a chariot with smoke standard drawn by four parrots and driven by the wind, having his consort Svāhā on his left lap and holding flames, trident and rosary in his hands. The *Āgamas*² on the other hand characterise him as having four arms, three eyes, red *jaṭās* with the front hands showing the *varada* and the *abhaya mudrās* and the back ones carrying *śruka* and *śakti*. It may, however, be observed here that no images of Agni conforming to any of the accounts given above have been brought to light from the northern part of the country. The most significant descriptions of Agni are met with in the *Agni*³ and the *Matsya Purāṇas*,⁴ which were evidently followed by the image makers of northern India. According to the *Agni Purāṇa*, the deity should hold rosary in his right hand and water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) in the left. He should have a long beard and a halo of flames. Both the *Agni* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* give him a *meṣa* (ram or goat) as his vehicle. Hemādri,⁵ however, mentions fire (*jvālā*) and trident (*triśūla*) in his right hands and rosary in the left hand, with his *śakti* Svāhā seated on his left thigh bearing a pot of jewels.

The earliest figures of Agni seem to be appearing on the coins of the Pañchāla series. The coins of Agnimitra⁶ depict a deity standing facing on a railed platform between two pillars, with his hair represented by five flames. He has his right hand raised and the left one resting on the hip (*kaṭihasta*), with some object (probably a sword or a club) projecting from his hip. The figure has been identified by most of the numismatists to be that of Agni; but Mme. Bazui Foucher⁷ finds in him the representation of Ādi Nāga, the presiding deity of Ahichchhatra, the capital city of the Pañchālas. As pointed out by J.N. Banerjea,⁸ she laid stress on the identity of the reverse device of Bhūmimitra's coins with that of Agnimitra, describing the two as Ādi Nāga. The deity on the former is found standing facing on a platform between two pillars, each with three cross-bars at the top. Cunningham⁹ has described the figures as 'standing on Buddhist railing; head with five rays,' and remarked, 'the figure is probably that of Bhūmi, or the earth personified.' Allan¹⁰

1. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Bk. III, ch. 56, vs. 1-10.

2. Rao, T.A.G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, ii, pp. 523f.

3. *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 51-15.

4. *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 261-9.

5. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Indian Images*, I.

6. Banerjea, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 146-47.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 83.

10. Allan, J., *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in British Museum*, p. cxviii.

observes that, 'his attitude is similar to that of Agni, but his hair is represented by five snakes (*nāgas*). He holds a snake in his hands. One would expect a personification of the Earth Goddess Bhūmi, but as the figure is male, it is probably the king of the Nāgas representing the earth.' But a careful inspection of the plates, as suggested by Banerjea,¹ appearing in Cunningham's² and Allan's³ books, shows that the two devices are almost identical, and whichever may be the designation of the one is the same as that of the other; but on some coins of Agnimitra,⁴ the deity is made to stand on a lotus, and shoots of flames or *nāgas* cannot be distinguished in the coin representations. R. Burns,⁵ however, says, 'the five lines are not identical on the two coins, those of Agnimitra ending in sharper points than those of Bhūmimitra. If these two figures are Nāgas, the difference is not important, while, if one is of Agni, the iconography of that of Bhūmi is difficult and I know no other representation of the Earth.' Banerjea⁶ has, therefore, observed that the whole question is still an open one, and unless better preserved coins are available, no certainty can be arrived at. But, since on the reverse of the Pañchāla coins is a deity—or his symbol, in most cases the former—whose name 'forms as a rule a component of the issuer's name and who was his patron deity',⁷ the figures on the reverse of Agnimitra's coins may reasonably be taken to be those of Agni whose hair has been treated like flames issuing from the head.

Sculptural representations of Agni are not many in northern India. It may, however, be observed that earlier examples depicting Agni are apparently based on the Yakṣa figures of still earlier period.⁸ Agni, like a Yakṣa, is shown not only heavy built, but is also found pot-bellied and standing and having two arms. A very interesting figure of the god belonging to the Kushan period in the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā⁹ represents him standing with two arms, the left one having been placed on the waist (*kaṭyavalambita*) and the right one broken; the lower part of the legs along with the pedestal being also broken. He is having a slightly bulging belly, and flames are issuing forth from his shoulder. He is neither bearded, nor is he accompanied by his vehicle.¹⁰ This figure of Agni at once recalls to the mind the

1. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

2. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, 12-16.

3. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII, 5-14.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Bibliography of Indian Art and Archaeology (Kern Institute, London), 1933, p. 24.

6. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

7. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cvii.

8. R.C. Agrawala also shares the same opinion. Cf. *Journal of Indian History*, XLIII, pt. i, April 1965, p. 151.

9. Bajpeyi, K.D., *Mathurā* (in Hindi), p. 32, pl. 23 (no. 2880).

10. As the lower part of the image is missing, it is difficult to be precise if the vehicle was present; but, as is the case with the other early figures, Agni may certainly have been unaccompanied by the vehicle.

early Buddha figures of the Mathurā school. Like a Mathurā Buddha of the early centuries of christian era, he is standing in the frontal pose with his left hand akimbo and the right one, though broken, slightly upraised in a manner suggestive of its being in the *abhaya* pose. The change from a Buddha figure to the figure of Agni is, however, effected in a simple though ingenious manner by making the plain scalloped halo behind the head of the Buddha transformed into a halo of flames by chiselling curved lines on the stone disc behind the head of Agni, and making the deity slightly flabby. The archaic style of the image and the distinct influence of the Buddhist sculpture on it cannot remove the figure farther from the earlier productions of the Mathurā school and may safely be considered to be the earliest endeavour of representing Agni in stone during the Kushan period. In this figure, none of the attributes, nor even the vehicle, as prescribed by the texts, are to be seen, excepting the halo of flames behind the head of the figure.

Another figure of Agni, belonging to the early Gupta period, was found at Kaṅkāli Tīlā, a Jaina site of Mathurā.¹ Under the possession of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, it shows Agni in a standing posture, slightly pot-bellied with a water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). His hair has been arranged into matted locks. He has also flames alround his body. So also another important figure of the deity from Mathurā belonging to the Gupta period² depicts him pot-bellied with a halo of flames. The terracotta figure of standing Agni of the Gupta period from Ahichchhatra is equally exquisite.³

A remarkable figure of Agni, belonging to the Gupta period, in buff-sandstone comes from the Shahabad district of Bihar, and is presently housed in the Museum at Patna.⁴ In this figure, the deity is shown seated in *lalitāsana*, with the left leg pendant and the right one folded and kept upon the couch on which the god is himself seated. He is two armed with the right hand in the *varada mudrā* and a broken jar (or a water-vessel) placed on the palm of his bent up left hand. This piece forms a class by itself, and is unique inasmuch as no image parallel to this one showing a jar placed on the palm of the left hand has come to light from northern India. In this instance as well the deity is clean shaven and his vehicle, the goat, is conspicuous by its absence, though oval flames are shown alround him from the seat upward. He is putting on a necklace of two strings, and his coiffure has been arranged tastefully in a flat *jaṭāmukūṣa*. The Patna Museum has recently acquired a much similar representation of Agni from the Mundesvari temple in the Bhojpur district.⁵

1. Smith, V.A., *The Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, pl. 88; Bajpeyl, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in the Mathurā Art*, p. 46 (no. J. 123).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

3. *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 127, pl. 40 B.

4. Guide to the Archaeological Section of the Patna Museum, p. 8; Sinha, B.P., *Bhāratiya Kālako Bihāra kī Dena*, p. 120, fig. 77.

5. Plate.

The Paharpur basement figure of Agni¹ (relief no. 34 in greyish buff-sandstone on the south-eastern wall) represents the two-armed god as a flabby person, standing erect and holding a rosary and a water-vessel in his two hands. In this figure also flames of fire are being depicted on the background; but his mount is absent. These early figures of Agni are thus characterised by total absence of the vehicle 'ram', besides being devoid of any kind of traces of beard on the face of the god.² Agni from Benisagar in the district of Singhbhum has also a rosary and a water-vessel in his hands and a ram as his mount. He is also characterised by a flabby body, beard and moustaches and flames of fire rising from his body above his waist³ (Fig. 3).

The two-armed standing image of Agni from Lachchhāgir in the Allahabad district belonging to the Gupta period⁴ and another image of the god from the Nārada Kuṇḍa at Mathurā belonging to the early medieval period⁵ are iconographically of great significance. In the Lachchhāgir example, Agni, with flames round the head, is accompanied by two miniature figures on his either side. But what renders the piece of special interest is that one of the attendants to the left of the deity has been endowed with a goat's head. Such is also the case with the figure retrieved from the Nārada Kuṇḍa at Mathurā, wherein the attendant to the proper right of the god is similarly represented. Not only this. The goat-headed male person attending upon the Lord of Fire is found appearing again on the unique relief now preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.,⁶ in which both the attendants on the two sides of the god are goat-headed; besides, there being also the figure of a ram appearing in the relief. In this connection, mention may also be made of a singular stone sculpture of the Gupta period in the Mathurā Museum⁷ in which Kārttikeya, depicted as mounted on his peacock, the plumage of which has been rendered in the fashion of a halo at the back, is being anointed as the commander of the divine force by the four-faced Brahmā (only three faces being visible) on the right and Śiva on the left, both having matted locks and wearing girdles, who pour sacred water over the deity's head from the jars held inverted in their upraised hands.

The association of the goat-headed male figure with Agni on the one hand and Kārttikeya on the other is iconographically not only highly interesting but also greatly puzzling. In accordance with J.N. Banerjea,⁸ the goat-headed person may

1. *MASI*, No. 55, p. 48, pl. XXXII, b; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

2. Cf. *JIH*, XLIII (i), April 1965, p. 151.

3. Plate.

4. Kala, S.C., in *JUPHS*, NS, II, ii, 1954, pl. VI.

5. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 46 (no. D. 24).

6. *Indian Antiquary*, LXII, 1933, p. 231; *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, II, i, 1955, fig. on p. 11.

7. *JUPHS*, V, i (Old Series), p. 48, pl. 19 and *ibid.*, XXII, pp. 140-41 (no. 466).

8. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

be identified with the goat-headed Dakṣa Prajāpati or with the goat-faced (*chhāga-vaktra*) companion of Skanda-Kārttikeya of the Hindu mythology. This companion of Skanda-Kārttikeya, in the light of the suggestion afforded by V.S. Agrawala,¹ may be taken either as Dakṣa Prajāpati or more appropriately as the goat-headed vehicle of Agni. That Kārttikeya is intimately associated with Agni is well known from the stories of his birth delineated in the epics. As already referred to, the *Rāmāyaṇa*² represents him as the son of Agni from Gaṅgā, and the *Mahābhārata*³ too speaks of him as the son of Agni, but born from his wife Svāhā. The goat-headed male figure appearing in the sculpture depicting Kārttikeya as being anointed by Brahmā and Śiva may, therefore, be taken as representing Agni at the time of his son's anointment as the general-issimo of the gods. Reference may also be made to a unique terracotta plaque of the late Kushan or early Gupta period from Rangamahā, now preserved in the Bikaner Museum,⁴ which depicts on it the figure of the deity known as Ajaikapāda, having goat's head and only one leg. According to Agrawala,⁵ 'aja' is in fact a form of Agni who has been depicted as a goat-headed deity.

Figures of Agni belonging to the Pāla period are not unknown from both the states of Bihar and Bengal, in which the god is shown riding on a *meṣa* and flames are shown alround his body. A fine specimen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta⁶ comes from Bihar which shows the god bearded, pot-bellied, two armed, holding rosary in his right hand and a water-vessel in the left. He is seated on the back of his vehicle in the *paryāṅkāśana* (the so-called European fashion). Possessed of all the essential features, as prescribed in the *Agni Purāṇa*, this figure is rendered all the more interesting, rather more individualistic, by the manner in which his beard, his angry stare, long wavy flames emanating from his body, his sacred thread and a few ornaments, all have been displayed suggestive of the image only one of its own kind. A second specimen, discovered in the Dinajpur district of Bengal, belongs to the collection of P.C. Nahar, wherein the deity is carved on a stela of black chlorite, and is shown seated in the *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* with his left leg tucked up on the seat and the right one hanging down and placed on the back of his mount, whose figure is carved on the pedestal. The objects held by the deity are missing as his both the arms are broken. In this case also, the deity is slightly pot-bellied and flames are shown issuing from the upper part of his body. A figure of Agni in a private collection at Patna, belonging to the Pāla period, is also characterised by flames shown carved on the stela alround the deity, who is two

1. Agrawala, V.S. *op. cit.*, p. 40; cf. Rao, *op. cit.*, II, ii, p. 446, pl. CXXIV.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 37.

3. *Mahābhārata*, ch. 229.

4. *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, pl. 24, fig. 15; *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, XX-XXI, pp. 306-7, fig. 8.

5. Agrawala, V.S., in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, p. 67.

6. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 524, pl. XLV, 4.

armed, holding rosary in his right hand raised in the *abhaya mudrā* and *kamaṇḍalu* in the left. The god is slightly pot-bellied and is represented as seated on the back of his mount in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose. The figure of Agni in a stone slab of the Pāla period stuck on the outer wall of the compound of the Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya, which bears figures of five Brahmanical deities, is also characterised by similar features. In this representation of the god, the head of the ram with two prominent ears is shown to the front in such a way that its entire body remains hidden.

A fine image in the Museum at Sarnath¹ also represents the god with tongues of flames surrounding him on all the sides. Unfortunately the figure is severely damaged that almost all the features of the god are obliterated, the main feature of his recognition being only the flames of fire. The deity, represented as standing, is having his head completely smashed and so also his arms are missing. He is accompanied by two attendant deities whose figures also are much mutilated. The attendant to the right of the principal figure appears to have a peacock behind him, whereas the attendant to his left, though badly mutilated, seems to have a cock behind him. The first attendant figure is undoubtedly that of Kārttikeya, who is well known to have a peacock as his vehicle, and whose intimate association with Agni cannot be questioned. But if the figure of the bird behind the second attendant is that of a cock, this attendant may also be taken as Kārttikeya. Cock is well known to be associated with Skanda-Kārttikeya as an emblem of the god. In the *Mahābhārata*,² Agni is stated to have presented a big cock with a red tuft to Skanda before the latter's marriage with Devasenā. It is, however, a fact that nowhere has cock been represented as the vehicle of Kārttikeya, but on account of his close association with the bird, the second attendant may also be identified as Kārttikeya. In the present sculpture, therefore, Agni appears to be accompanied by the figures of Kārttikeya who has been shown in his two different aspects on the either side of the principal figure.

The Assam Provincial Museum³ is also in possession of a sculpture of Agni. Here as well the two-armed god is shown standing with a water-vessel in one of his hands, but is holding a *tridaṇḍa* (and not a rosary) in the other. He has a long beard and a *yajñopavīta*.

The figure of Agni appears also on the Rājārāni temple at Bhubaneshwar.⁴ Agni is shown standing in the *tribhāṅga* pose gracefully on a full-bloomed lotus. He is bearded and two armed; both the arms being broken, objects are missing. Below the

1. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, pl. LXIX.

2. *Mahābhārata*, ch. 229.

3. Barua, B.K., *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 192.

4. Mitra, D., *Bhubaneshwar*, pl. XI, A.

lotus, upon which Agni stands, is carved the figure of a *meṣa*, the mount of the deity, facing to the right. The whole body of the deity is surrounded by flames. The deity is putting on a few ornaments and so also his ram is decorated with bead-like ornaments. Agni is attended upon by two miniature figures, and there are flying *gandharvas* on the either side of his head.

Agni also makes his appearance on the temples at Khajurāho. One on the Pārśvanātha temple¹ depicts him standing with a plaited beard and a moustache, and wearing a *mukuṭa* over his head. Flames spring up from the back of his head, and the mutilated form of a small animal, evidently his vehicle the ram, lies at his feet. But at Khajurāho, Agni, with an exception of only one example, is not merely two armed, rather there is an elaboration in the number of his arms; he is four-handed. He, however, holds the two usual attributes, the rosary and the water-vessel in his front hands. The attribute held in the left hand of the deity is somewhat difficult to recognise; it looks like a book from one side, but if viewed from the other, it appears as if he is holding a club in it. In certain examples, the book in the upper hand is found replaced by a lotus-stalk (*mṛṇāla*), while the upper right hand holds *śruka* or *śruva*. These features are clearly noticeable in the hands of Agni represented on the Kandariya Mahādeva temple.² Another copy of this figure is, however, seen on the superstructure of the Lakṣmaṇa temple,³ tallying much with the figure on the Pārśvanātha temple, with the only addition of a devotee on the right in the *añjali mudrā*. The figure of Agni on the Duladeo temple is devoid of flames of fire at his back. It would be worth mentioning that Agni at Khajurāho has not always flames represented at his back. The absence of the flames behind the god is, however, amply compensated by the representation of sometimes one and sometimes two pots placed on his sides with flames issuing forth from them. It may also be noted that the goat-headed attendant can also be seen at Khajurāho in association with the Agni figures.

In a fine medieval relief, depicting the Kalyāṇasundara aspect of Śiva, sacrificial fire is represented in a very interesting manner. Brahmā, as the officiating priest in the marriage scene, is shown pouring sacrificial offering with a ladle in the open up-turned face of Agni, whose head is only shown. The relief is in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhawan of the Banaras Hindu University at Varanasi (U.P.).

A survey of the figures of Agni from different parts of northern India would thus show that he is usually represented as flabby person, standing or seated, with two arms holding a rosary and a water-vessel in them. Very rarely, as in the case of the Khajurāho examples, he is endowed with four arms, but even then two of his arms

1. Dhamma, B.L., *Khajurāho*, pl. II, B; Zannas, Eliky, *Khajurāho*, p. 188, pl. CLXVI.

2. Lal, Kanwar, *Immortal Khajurāho*, pl. 77.

3. Zannas, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXI.

carry the rosary and the water-vessel, the two usual attributes of the god. Barring a few examples, such as figures of the Kushan and the early Gupta periods, when the iconographic type of Agni was not much evolved, the *Agni Purāṇa*, to a great extent, was recognised by the image makers of northern India, who evidently took into account the iconographic features of the god embodied in it and tried to exhibit these features in the representations of Agni. In the earlier figures, the god is clean-shaven, but later on he is represented almost always with a moustache. In certain of his figures, his mount is absent; but, wherever it is shown, it is without any exception a *meṣa* (ram or goat). In some of the sculptures, Agni is accompanied by a goat-headed person, who is supposed to be the goat-headed vehicle of the god in hybrid form. Agni is more than often characterised by flames of fire represented by means of curved lines carved on the background. But, in some instances, as at Khajurāho, pots with flames issuing forth from them are substituted for the flames at the back of the god and are placed on his either side.

Rao has illustrated two south Indian images of Agni, one from Kandiur in Travancore¹ and the other from Chidambaram.² Both the images are endowed with two heads; but while the former has goat heads with seven arms and three legs, the latter has human heads with seven arms and an aureole of flames encircling both the heads. The latter has sometimes been identified with Yajñapurūṣa³ on the basis of a verse occurring in the *Ṛg-veda*;⁴ but amongst important features, Yajñapurūṣa (a manifestation of Viṣṇu) should have conch-shell and discus in two of his hands, and he should occupy the south-western corner of the temple facing west. But the fact that the figure is found occupying the south-eastern corner of the temple and is also characterised by the absence of the two special symbols, besides having flames of fire encircling the heads, the figure may rightly be considered to be that of Agni.⁵ Dubreuil has also illustrated two figures of Agni from the South, one of them being bicephalous⁶ and the other from Ellorā⁷ single headed and riding on the back of his ram mount (Fig. 4). A study of the south Indian images would thus reveal that there are characteristic differences in the representations of the god in the two halves of the country. The north Indian images of Agni are almost always represented with a single head, whereas in south India, Agni is usually two headed, although single-headed figures of the god are not unknown. Again, the north Indian images of Agni have usually two arms, four-armed figures of the Khajurāho type being rare,

1. Rao, *op. cit.*, II, p. 524, pl. CLII.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. CLIII, 2.

3. Cf. Banerjee, J.N., in *JISOA*, XIV, pp. 46-47 and *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 525.

4. *Ṛg-veda*, 4.58.3.

5. Harle, J.C., in *JRAS*, 1962, pp. 1-17.

6. Dubreuil, *Iconography of Southern India*, pl. LXVI.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. LXVII.

while the number of arms in the south Indian images is often more than seven, two-handed and four-handed figures being not commonly found. In the north Indian images, rosary and water-vessel are the two important attributes of Agni; but in the south Indian images, *śruka*, *śruva*, *sūchi*, *agni* etc. are to be held in the hands of the god; *śruka* and *śruva* being very rarely represented in the north Indian images as in a few representations at Khajurāho. In north India, Agni is usually found to be represented as a pot-bellied, and sometimes bearded as an old person, but in south India, these features are almost absent, though a few images of north India too do not show these features, as they are found clean-shaven and slender-bodied. In the north Indian images of Agni, flames are usually shown rising from the body of the god which are carved in wavy lines on the back-slab, but no such figures with flames surrounding the body of the god are known from south India, where sometimes the flames are shown issuing from the heads. The vehicle of the god, however, in both the north and the south Indian representations remains the same; it is always a *meṣa* (goat or ram).

YAMA

YAMA is mentioned in the *Ṛg-veda*¹ as the son of Vivasvant (whence his title Vaivasvant)² by Saranyu,³ the daughter of Tvaṣṭr, with Yamī as his twin sister. At another place, they are described as the offspring of the heavenly cloisters, the Gandharvas.⁴ These two, Yama and Yamī, are regarded as the primæval pair, the parents of the mankind, and, in this respect, they are identical with the Persian Yima and Yimeh (children of Vivahvant) in the Avestan literature.⁵ The *Ṛg-veda* has rather a hymn⁶ in which Yamī invites Yama to incestuous intercourse; but Yama successfully resists her overtures by justifying the act to be simply monstrous. He is, however, mourned by her after his death, so that the gods had to create night to make her forget her sorrows.

Yama is amongst the first⁷ mortals to have died and found for the race of men a heaven where they may rejoice in the company of the pious dead. In this capacity, he is, therefore, called a king or '*samāgamana janānām*' (the gatherer of men) and ruler over the departed fathers in the heaven.⁸ But in the *Ṛg-veda*, nowhere Yama is pictured as having anything to do with the punishment of the wicked. Nevertheless, he is still to some an object of terror for he is said to have two insatiable dogs, with four eyes and wide nostrils, which guard the road to his abode, and which the departed soul are advised to hurry past with all possible speed.⁹

It is, however, in the post-Vedic mythology that he is conceived as presiding over the region of the deceased, a complicated system of hell, and appointed as the judge of the wicked, in which capacity he is called Dharmarāja or even Dharma,¹⁰

1. *RV*, 10, 14, 5.

2. *RV*, 10, 14, 1.

3. *RV*, 10, 17, 1.

4. *RV*, 10, 10, 4.

5. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 172.

6. *RV*, 10, 10.

7. *AV*, 18, 3, 13.

8. *RV*, 10, 14, 1.

9. *RV*, 10, 14, 10-12.

10. *Mbh.*, 13, 70, 20f.

and corresponds to the Greek Pluto or Minos. He is also made to guard the southern quarter of the universe. In the *Mahābhārata*,¹ he is *pitṛ-rāja*, because he rules over the kingdom of the dead, the *pitṛs* or the ancestors. His kingdom is in the south²—the south being called the second door of Yama. In this realm is said to be the river Vaitarṇī and the Raurava hell.³ In still later mythology, he is always represented as a terrible deity inflicting torture (*yātanā*) on the departed spirit. He is also one of the eight guardians of the universe, as the regent of the southern quarter. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,⁴ it is said that “all men at the end of their existence (life) become slave to the power of Yama, by whom they are sentenced to painful punishment.” The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*⁵ names different hells and states that ‘there are many other fearful hells which are the awful provinces of Yama, terrible with instruments of torture and fire.’ According to the *Padma Purāṇa*,⁶ “Yama fulfils the office of the judge of the dead, as well as the sovereign of the damned; all that die appearing before him, and being confronted with Chitrāgupta, the recorder, by whom their actions have been registered. The virtuous are then conveyed to the *svarga* (heaven), while the wicked are driven to the different regions of *naraka* (hell).” It is thus very strange that the character of Yama’s rule and kingdom entirely changed—according to the Vedas, the pure and the good went with gladness to Yama’s realm of light; but in the Purāṇas, it is the wicked who are sent to him for punishment. “Yet this same Yama”, remarks Bloomfield,⁷ “such is the terror of death, becomes in due time the Hindu Pluto, god of hell, and judged the wicked.”

The *Mahābhārata*⁸ has a very interesting story of Sāvitrī and Satyavāna which shows that Yama was sometimes propitious to prayers and allowed those who entered his abode to return back to the earth. This evidently suggests that the benevolent character of the Vedic Yama was not altogether forgotten in the later period.

In the *Mahābhārata*,⁹ Yama is described as dressed in blood-red garments, with a glittering form, a crown on his head, glowing eyes, and like Varuṇa, holding a noose, with which he binds the spirit after drawing it from the body, in size about the measure of a man’s thumb. He is otherwise represented as grim in aspect, green in colour, clothed in red garments, armed with a club in one hand and a noose in

1. *Mbh.*, 7, 50, 14.

2. *Mbh.*, 3, 168, 14; 3, 163, 8.

3. Hopkins, E.W., *Epic Mythology*, pp. 110-11.

4. Wilkins, W.J., *Hindu Mythology*, p. 71.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

7. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 145.

8. Fausboll, V., *Indian Mythology*, pp. 140-42.

9. *Mbh.*, 3, 297, 17.

the other, riding upon a buffalo¹ with a crown on his head and a flower in his hair; and sometimes standing as a warder to Sūrya. In the *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas*, Yama is described to be dark or blue in colour, resembling rain-cloud, with two or four arms, and having red eyes and sharp tusks. In the *Brhatsaṃhitā*,² he is simply described as 'having a staff in his hand and riding a buffalo'. A similar description of the god is found in the *Agni Purāṇa*³ and the *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*.⁴ In the *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi*,⁵ the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁶ and the *Śrītattvanidhi*,⁷ a noose has been added in the other hand, and a *phala-pallava* (fruit and tender leaf) instead in the *Suprabhedāgama*.⁸ The deity is, however, differently described in the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*⁹ and the *Śilparatna*¹⁰ as holding *khaḍga* and *kheṭaka* in his hands; but these texts also provide him with a buffalo mount. Thus all these texts describe Yama as two armed carrying either a staff, or a staff and a noose, or a staff and a fruit and tender leaf, or a sword and a shield. A four-armed Yama is, however, mentioned in the *Rūpavatāra*¹¹ with a pen (stile, *lekhanī*), a book (*pustaka*), a *koṇābda* and a staff in his hands; buffalo being his usual mount. These texts also suggest that Yama should be accompanied by Mṛtyu and Saṃhitā, having terrific appearance and of dazzling blue and red colours respectively, two *chaurī* bearing females, two Brāhmaṇas called Dharma and Adharma, and Chitragupta and Kali, all clothed in red garments. He should also be surrounded by the gods (*devas*) and the demons (*asuras*), by the pious men and the sinners ever worshipping him.¹²

Yama is, however, described in greater detail in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.¹³ The four-armed god sits upon a buffalo with his consort, Dhumorṇa (*nīlotpala* coloured and two armed) on his lap and holding a staff (*daṇḍa*) and a sword (*khaḍga*) in his right hands and a flaming trident (*trīśūla*) and a rosary (*akṣamālā*) in the left hands—a face with flames issuing from it being shown on the top of the staff (thus suggesting a *khaṭvāṅga*). The god is being attended upon by Chitragupta, dressed like Northerner (*udīchyaveśa*), with a pen (stile) and a (palm-) leaf in his hands on his right and the fierce looking Kāla (Time, the destroyer) armed with a noose in his hand on his

1. The buffalo appears as the vehicle of Yama first in *Harivamśa*, 14826. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

2. *Br. Saṃ.*, ch. 57, v. 57.

3. *Agni P.*, ch. 51/14.

4. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, App. B, p. 257.

5. *Abhilaṣit.*, 3/1/811.

6. *Matsya P.*, ch. 261.12; 268.13.

7. *Śrītattvanidhi*, p. 105.

8. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-56.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57.

11. *Rūpavatāra*, 7.50-58.

12. Rao, *op. cit.*, II, ii, p. 526.

13. *Viṣṇudh.*, Bk. III, ch. 57; Rao, *EHI*, II, App. B, p. 257.

left. Both the Buddhist¹ and the Jaina² works mention the god with a buffalo mount and a staff in his hand, the former giving a *śūla* too in addition in the other hand. Thus the conception of Yama in these religions too is almost identical to that of the Brahmanical one.

Yama, in the textual descriptions, has thus been endowed with a terrific appearance, a *danḍa* (staff) and a *pāśa* (noose) in his hands and is provided with a buffalo as his mount. Besides being the guardian of the southern quarter of the universe, Yama has been conceived as the god of death. In spite of the teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā*³ that 'soul' is immortal and the leaving off the body comparable to the change of the new clothes, 'Death' is what is most dreaded by the human beings. It is in keeping with this idea of death, that the Lord of Death has been pictured as most terrific in appearance, riding upon a buffalo, which is also as terrific as the master, and holding *danḍa* and *pāśa* in his hands with which to award judgment or punishment (being in the capacity of Dharmarāja, *danḍa-dhara*) and bind the soul carried by him.

One of the earliest and beautiful figures of Yama, hailing from the Śiva temple at Bhumra,⁴ M.P., now housed in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad,⁵ represents the god seated with both his legs hanging down in *pariyāṅkāśana*. The deity is two armed with both his hands placed on his thighs, the left one holding a long staff, resembling a club upturned, by its lower end and *vija-pūraka* in the right hand. He is wearing a *dhōṭī*, a high crown, a *yajñopavīta*, ear-rings and necklaces. The mount of the deity is, however, conspicuous by its absence. He has two female attendants, one on each side holding flywhisks.

The relief No. 39 in the south basement wall of the main temple at Paharpur⁶ depicts a deity standing erect with a *pāśa* in his hands which passes round his head like an aureole. K.N. Dikshit⁷ has identified the figure to be that of Yama, on the ground of its particular position on the basement wall. Banerjea,⁸ however, takes the figure to be that of Varuṇa, remarking that like the *danḍa* of Yama, noose is the most characteristic attribute of Varuṇa. Undoubtedly, Yama is the guardian deity of the South and noose is one of his attributes; but in the absence of his most characteristic weapon, the *danḍa*, the figure may well be taken to be that of Varuṇa. Had the figure

1. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 61.

2. Bhattacharya, B.C., *The Jaina Iconography*.

3. *Bhagavadgītā*, II, 20 and 22.

4. *MA SI*-16, p. 12.

5. Kala, S.C., *Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum*, p. 30, pl. XXX, a.

6. *MA SI*-55, p. 50, pl. XXX, a.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

8. *HBR*, I, p. 463.

been accompanied by the special mount of the deity, it could have been precisely identified and the disputed point settled once for all.

One of the masterpieces of Indian art from Kanauj belonging to the Gurjara-Pratihāra work,¹ illustrating the marriage of Śiva with Umā, has a number of divinities carved on the upper part of the panel over the principal figures. Amongst them, Yama occupies almost the central position in the upper row of the deities. Riding on the back of a mighty and spirited buffalo, having its head raised, whose movement appears to have been checked under the application of a severe force, the two-armed deity with his head slightly turned towards the back, has club adorned with a human skull (*khaṭvāṅga*) held in his left hand, the right hand being mutilated. Like the Bhumra example, this figure is also slender-bodied and has a handsome face, but has scanty jewellery. Moreover, the deity has been provided with his usual mount, the buffalo. He is, however, not terrific-looking as required by the texts (Fig. 1). A much similar representation of the god is met with in the well-known Kalyāṇasundara image at Ellorā,² a work belonging to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa epoch.

But Yama appearing on the temples of Bhubaneśwar is differently represented. He is not as attractive and slender-bodied as the Bhumra and the Kanauj figures represent him; rather an attempt has been made to depict him actually terrific, somewhat pot-bellied with a hideous face, justifying his claim to be the god of death. In a significant figure of Yama appearing on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple³ at Bhubaneśwar (c. 7th century A.D.), the deity is depicted as seated to front in the *sukhāsana* pose on the back of his buffalo-mount facing to the right. He is two-armed, holding a staff, resembling a club, in his left hand, exactly in the manner of the Bhumra example and *viḥa-pūṛaka* in his right hand. The figure, however, bears certain characteristic differences. It has been made somewhat pot-bellied with a hideous face, evidently with an idea of making the deity terrific as required by the texts. Besides, his mount which is absent in the Bhumra example is also added here. Another figure of Yama of somewhat later period appearing on the Brahmeśvara temple⁴ (c. 1000 A.D.) shows certain differences from the earlier prototypes. Like the preceding example, Yama, depicted in a terrific form, sits on a buffalo, holding a *daṇḍa* in his right hand, but has a noose (*pāśa*) in the left hand. This additional feature (i.e. the *pāśa*) is prescribed by some texts as an attribute of Yama. He has, however, a crown over his head and also a beard, a feature not noticeable in the earlier examples. Still another figure of Yama on the southern side of the

1. Goswami, A., *Indian Temple Sculpture*, pl. 15.

Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture*, pl. 34.

Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 68.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. 70.

3. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneśwar*, p. 71, pl. 35A.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Rājarānī temple's *jagamohana*,¹ in which the god is shown standing in slightly *abhañga* pose on a full-blown lotus, below which is his characteristic mount, the buffalo, standing and facing to the left, has features practically similar to the Brahmeśvara temple figure. Two attendants on his either side stand on separate lotuses. The figure of Yama, showing in his hands *daṇḍa* and *tarjanī*, and standing astride with a buffalo in relief on the pedestal, is an interesting exhibit in the Varendra Research Society Collection.²

At Khajurāho, Yama has been represented facing south on the south-western corners of the temples. With the exceptions of a two-armed image having the right hand broken and the left hand placed on the waist, all other images of Yama have been found to be four-armed. Most of the images have one, two or all the arms damaged. The principal weapon of Yama is a *daṇḍa*; but at Khajurāho this object is found in the fourth hand of only two of the images. Yama, however, holds objects like book and cock (*kukkuṭa*) in his hands. The *khaṭvāṅga* in the hands of some of the images may be taken to be the *daṇḍa* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Yama has been exhibited terrific in appearance with his hair screwed or standing on ends. Some of the images have round bulging eyes, protruding tusks and distorted face. He wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* or *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, alternatively his hair has been coiled into a *jaṭā*. His mount, the buffalo, has been shown on the pedestal. He is sometimes accompanied by a female who may be taken to be his wife Dhumorna standing to his left. The male attendant to his right in some of the sculptures may be identified as Chitragupta. In some of the sculptures the devotees have been shown with their palms folded in the *añjali mudrā*. The artists appear to have taken liberties in endowing Yama with attributes like skull, kettledrum, bell and snake.³

There is a highly interesting figure of Yama from Jaunpur in the Allahabad Museum.⁴ Carved out of buff coloured sandstone, the figure has all the four arms and the left leg broken. The god wears a frizzled beard, moustaches and a tiara decorated with three skulls above the forehead. A buffalo crouches behind his feet. The sculpture is dated in about 12th century A.D.

The National Museum, New Delhi, has two images of Yama standing in the *trbhāṅga* pose from Rajasthan.⁵ The first one of these is a two-armed figure and shows the deity grasping the shaft of a skull-topped *khaṭvāṅga* by its lower end in his right hand and carrying a bowl having its sides decorated with lotus-petal design

1. *Temples and Sculptures at Bhubaneśwar* (plates only), fig. 57.

2. *HBR*, I, pp. 463-64.

3. Awasthi, R., *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen*, pp. 217-19, figs. 91 and 94.

4. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 136, pl. CXXII.382.

5. Sharma, B.N., *Some Mediaeval Sculptures from Rajasthan in the National Museum, New Delhi, Roopa-Lekhā*, XXXV, 1 and 2, pp. 31-32, pl. III.

by the upraised left hand with a bird perched on it. A small sized stout buffalo stares from behind the master sharing as it does the same pedestal on the lower right corner. The image found at Kotah has been dated to 9th century A.D. Another equally charming image though now badly damaged was discovered at Chandravati (Fig. 5), which was a great centre of Paramāra art in the 11th century A.D.

There is an interesting slab of the Pāla period stuck on the outer wall of the Viṣṇupada temple compound which depicts in all five minor Brahmanical deities, one of them being Yama. As required by the text, the deity is shown seated on the back of his mount, the buffalo, occupying the central position. He is seated in the *ardhaparyanka* pose, with his left leg folded and tucked up and the right one pendant. In his upraised right hand, he is holding a club by its lower end and placing it against his right shoulder, whereas his left hand is placed near the left knee. He has a *jaṭā-jūṭa* over the head, but he is not represented terrific in appearance.

There is, however, a highly interesting piece of sculpture in the Rajshahi Museum,¹ which shows a male figure holding a balance and bears usual 11th century decoration. Banerjea² regards it 'an iconographic enigma' and remarks that the balance in its hand may tempt one to suggest that it represents Dharma (which is an epithet of Yama) weighing impartial justice.

To sum up, barring the Rajshahi Museum figure in which a man is represented as holding a scale in his hand, the north Indian figures of Yama are generally found represented either seated on his characteristic mount or standing with his mount on the pedestal. This vehicle of the god is, however, absent in some of the figures of the earlier period (as in the Bhumra example). Usually the deity is two-armed, holding invariably a club (sometimes topped by a human skull as in the *khatvāṅga*) in one of his hands, the other carrying sometimes a *vīja-pūraka* and sometimes a noose, particularly in the later examples. Two different types of Yama's figures may, however, be mentioned in the north Indian representations. In the earlier representations, the deity is shown slender-bodied with a handsome face (as in the Bhumra and the Kanauj figures), probably due to the fact that the Gupta aestheticism did not allow the artists to conceive the god in sculptural representations as hideous faced and misformed bodied. The figure of the Pāla period also does not depict the god as terrific in appearance. But this practice is evidently given up in favour of depicting him hideous looking, particularly in the sculptures of Orissa, as required by some of the texts. It may, however, be noted that Rao's illustration of Yama from the Śiva temple at Chidambaram³ shows the deity, besides carrying a club and

1. HBR, I, p. 464.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 464.

3. Rao, EHI, II, ii, p. 527, pl. CLIII.

a noose in his two hands, standing erect and accompanied by a strongly built bull, evidently his vehicle. It may be suggested that the south Indian figure of Yama from Ellorā¹ (as noted before) bears a close resemblance to the north Indian prototypes (particularly to the figures of Kanauj); but the bull (as seen in the Chidambaram temple) is unknown to the north Indian representations of the god. Such a vehicle of Yama has not even been mentioned in the texts.

1. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 107.

VARUNA

VARUNA is one of the most interesting and impressive of the Vedic deities. He occupies a very prominent place in the early Vedic literature. Originally one of the Ādityas, in the Veda he is commonly associated with Mitra and presides over the night as Mitra over the day; but he is often celebrated separately, whereas Mitra is rarely invoked alone. One of the oldest Vedic gods, Varuṇa is commonly thought to correspond to the Ouranos of the Greeks, though phonetic difficulty makes the identification uncertain.¹ He is often regarded as the supreme deity and styled as 'king of the gods', 'king of both gods and men' or 'king of the universe'. No other deity has such grand attributes and functions as assigned to him.² It is he who established earth and sky, set the sun in heaven and ordained the movements of moon and stars. It is he who perceives all that exists in heaven and earth or beyond. The affairs of men are under his control : he knows all that man does or thinks. He numbers even the very winking of men's eyes.³ Sin is the infringement of his ordinances and he binds sinners in fetters, i.e. seizes transgressors with his *pāśa* or noose. Whereas the other deities are mainly asked to bestow material boons, the hymns addressed to Varuṇa contain petitions for forgiveness. 'There is in fact', says Macdonell,⁴ 'no hymn to Varuṇa (and the Ādityas) in which the prayer for forgiveness does not occur, as in the hymns to other deities the prayer for worldly goods.' Varuṇa is thus the omnipotent and omniscient upholder of the moral and physical law and 'above all the other gods', according to Macnicol,⁵ 'towers in moral grandeur the form of Varuṇa'. Wilkins⁶ has very aptly remarked that 'Varuṇa in fact has attributes and functions ascribed to him in the Vedas of a high moral character than any other of the gods'. There is thus much in these descriptions which recalls Ahura Mazda of the Āvestā or Semitic deities.⁷

How it came about that this god was disposed from his high eminence to become merely the god of waters and regent of the western quarter in the later mythologies

1. Majumdar, R.C., *Vedic Age*, p. 365.
2. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 921.
3. *AV*, iv, 16, 2.
4. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 27.
5. Macnicol, N., *Indian Theism*, p. 10.
6. Wilkins, W.J., *Hindu Mythology*, p. 33.
7. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 60.

is not easy to conjecture. In the Vedic literature, though Varuṇa is not regarded chiefly as the god of ocean, as he is in the later writings, yet there are passages which describe him as being connected with the waters of the atmosphere and on the earth, which afford some foundations for the later conception of his kingdom. Thus for instance, we read, 'May the waters which are celestial and those which flow, those for which channels are dug, and those which are self-produced, those which are proceeding to the ocean, and are bright and purifying, preserve me. May those (waters) in the midst of which king Varuṇa goes....preserve me'.¹ In one place Varuṇa is called with Mitra 'Sindhu-pati'.² And in other places, he is said to dwell in the waters as Soma does in the woods. Roth gives a probable explanation as to the manner in which Varuṇa, who was originally the god of the heavens, came to be regarded as the god of the ocean. He says,³ 'When, on the one hand, the conception of Varuṇa as the all embracing heaven had been established, and, on the other hand, the observation of the rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth and to the sea had led to the conjecture that there existed an ocean enclosing the earth in its bosom, then the way was thoroughly prepared for connecting Varuṇa with the ocean'. In the epics and the Purāṇas, Varuṇa is described as the god of the ocean. In the epics, he is lord of waters, Ambupati, Āpamapati, Śalilendra, Udaapati etc.⁴ He is also known as Prachetas (the wise) and Pāśi (the noose carrier). Successful warriors are said to defy 'the bolt (*vajra*) of Indra and the noose (*pāśa*) of Śalilarāja'.⁵ As *lokapāla*, his general province is said to be the west.⁶

In the Veda, Varuṇa is invoked also with Indra, and in later Vedic literature together with Agni, Yama and Viṣṇu. In the *Ṛg-veda*, he is even called the brother of Agni.⁷ In the *Mahābhārata*, Varuṇa is said to be a son of Kardama and father of Puṣkara, and is also variously represented as one of the Deva-gandharvas, as a Nāga, as a king of the Nāgas. The Jains consider Varuṇa as a servant of the twentieth Arhat of the present Avasarpini.

Varuṇa, the lord of the waters and the regent of the western quarter, is to be represented in sculptures, as of strong constitution and as seated or standing upon a fabulous marine monster called a *makara* (the animal having the head and legs of an antelope and the body and tail of a fish) or crocodile.⁸ The *Brhatsamhitā*,⁹ however, provides the lord of the ocean with a swan (*haṁsa*) as his vehicle. He may have either two or four hands. According to the iconographic texts, the two-handed figure should hold a *pāśa* (noose) in his right hand, and the left one, in accordance

1. Muir, *O.S.T.*, v. 73.

2. *RV*, vii, 64, 2.

3. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 29.

4. *Rām.*, 7, 3, 18.

5. *Rām.*, 6, 71, 34.

6. *Mbh.*, 2, 14, 14; 5, 102, 9; *Rām.*, 4, 45, 6 etc.

7. *RV*, iv, 1, 2.

8. *Agni P.*, ch. 51/15; *Abhilaṣit.*, 52/14; *Br. Sain.*, 57/42 etc.

. *Br. Sain.*, 57/42.

with the *Suprabhedāgama*,¹ may show the *varada* pose or a lotus (*padma*) according to the *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi*.² A four-armed figure of Varuṇa as described in the *Rūpāvatāra*³ should exhibit the *varada* pose (by one of the hands, while the remaining hands should carry a *pāśa*, a snake and a *kamaṇḍalu*. His head should be adorned with a *karaṇḍa-mukuta* or a *ratna-kirita* and he should be wearing a *yajño-pavita* and all other ornaments on his person.

Varuṇa is, however, elaborately described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*,⁴ where he is called the lord of the waters. According to it, the slightly pot-bellied god (*kiñchitapralambajāṭhara*) sits in a chariot drawn by seven swans. He is four-armed, holding a lotus (*padma*) and a *pāśa* in his right hands and a conch-shell and a jewel-box (*ratna-pātra*) in the left ones. Over his head, there is a white umbrella and on his left, the emblem of *makara*. His beautiful consort Gaurī sits on his left lap with a *nīlotpala* in her left hand, her right hand embracing the lord. To his right and left stand river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Gaṅgā of moon-like white colour and possessing a pretty face stands on a *matsya* or *makara* with a *chauri* in her one hand and a *padma* in her other; and Yamunā also possessing good looks and having the colour of *nīlotpala*, stands on a tortoise with a *chāmara* in one hand and a *nīlotpala* in the other.

In the descriptions, Varuṇa is provided with a noose (*pāśa*), a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*), a lotus (*padma*) and a jewel-box (*ratna-pātra*) as his attributes. Varuṇa being the lord of the waters, his association with the lotus, the conch-shell and the jewels is understandable for lotus is intimately connected with water, conch-shell is born in the sea and so also the sea is believed to be the repository of the gems—‘all the objects directly or indirectly bearing proof of his aquatic nature’.⁵ His vehicle, whether a *makara* or a swan, is also an aquatic animal. Bhattacharya,⁶ however, does not regard the *pāśa* of Varuṇa to be properly a noose; but a net or a rope for a seaman, a fisherman or a pearlman, pointing to the fact that Varuṇa being the god of the sea, the most characteristic mark of marine activities is his rope or a net by which, in various ways, wealth can be earned out of and through the sea itself. The suggestion with regard to the *pāśa* of Varuṇa as a rope or a net is undoubtedly an ingenious one; but it seems too much to read a rope or a net in the *pāśa* of Varuṇa. Besides being called *Pāśi* (noose carrier), which is his alternative name, Varuṇa is well known in the Veda to have put fetters (*pāśa*) on the transgressors of sin. In the epics, it is the successful warriors only who are said to defy the ‘bolt of Indra’ and ‘the noose of Varuṇa’.⁷ And almost all the iconographic texts as well endow the god with a *pāśa* (noose). It is thus the Vedic attribute

1. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, App. B, p. 260.

2. *Abhilaṣit.*, 52/15.

3. *Rūpāvatāra*, ch. 14.

4. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, ch. 52; Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-61.

5. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Indian Images*, I, p. 29.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

7. *Rām.*, 6, 71, 34.

of the god which appears to have been carried on in the later period, and this may explain the reason why a *pāśa* continues to be the most significant attribute of Varuṇa. A rope, however, in the form of a noose may well be used by the fisherman in his various marine activities; his other emblems having distinct connections with the sea or the water.

Images of Varuṇa are comparatively rare in northern India. Relief No. 39 in the south basement wall of the main mound at Paharpur¹ represents a deity standing erect (in *samapāda* attitude) and holding a *pāśa* in his hands which passes round the head of the god like an aureole with its loose end fluttering on his either side like the end of the upper scarf. He is being attended by a male and a female standing on his either side and carrying a noose in their hands. K.N. Dikshit² is disposed to identify the figure to be that of Yama, mainly on account of its particular position on the basement wall. Undoubtedly Yama is the guardian deity of the southern quarter of the universe and noose is one of his attributes; but as Banerjea³ remarks, like the *daṇḍa* of Yama, *pāśa* is the most characteristic feature of Varuṇa, and the Paharpur figure may well be taken to be that of Varuṇa. Thus in this example, Varuṇa stands erect holding a noose in his hands. He is, however, not accompanied by his characteristic *vāhana*, either the *makara* or the swan.

Another figure of Varuṇa, belonging approximately to the same period, appears on the exterior wall of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple.⁴ He is shown seated on a low couch and holds a noose in the left hand and a *vīja-pūraka* in the right. On the pedestal is carved a swan walking to the right. This figure, however, differs in the main from the previous one in the fact that the deity is provided with a swan as his vehicle, which is clearly in accordance with the iconographic prescriptions of the *Brhatsaṃhitā*.⁵ Varuṇa also appears on the right jamb of the main doorway of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple⁶ at Bhubaneśvara holding a noose in his left hand.

Occupying a central position on the western side of the Brahmeśvara temple⁷ at Bhubaneśvara, the guardian deity of the western quarter sits upon a *makara* having an ornamental tail and a noose in the left hand. A metal image of approximately the same period coming from Sahibganj⁸ (Bihar) represents the god slightly pot-bellied, seated in *ardhaparyāṅka* with his left leg tucked up on the seat and the right one pendant, with his hands stretched and placed on the knees with objects not clearly distinguishable. A miniature *makara*, obviously the vehicle of the god, is carved on the pedestal.

1. *MAI*-55, p. 50, pl. XXX, a.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

3. *HBR*, I, p. 463.

4. Panigrahi, K.C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneśwar*, p. 70.

5. *Br. Saṃ.*, ch. 57/57.

6. Panigrahi, K.C., *op. cit.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

8. Banerji, *EISMS*, p. 139, pl. LXXIII, d.

Clad in a highly diaphanous drapery, the beautiful figure of Varuṇa, noted for its masterly treatment, appears as a side piece of the Rājārāṇi temple¹ at Bhubaneśvara. Standing gracefully on a full-blown lotus, the two-armed god is shown holding a looped noose by its end in his left hand and exhibiting *varada mudrā* by the right. The jewelled head-gear, the ear-ornaments, the necklace, the waist girdle, the pearl *yajñopavīta*, etc., are all tastefully displayed and his vehicle, the *makara*, is shown nearby on the pedestal. According to N.R. Ray,² the figure which is a part of the temple body seems to step out in increasing roundness of volume and the figure is fully thrust out in the open space.

Like other Dikpālakas, Varuṇa as well figures at Khajurāho. Endowed with four hands, he has his first hand displayed in the *varada mudrā* or placed on the waist (*kaṭyāvalambita*) or it carries a noose, the second has either a noose or a lotus, the third holds a book or a lotus stalk while the fourth hand carries a *kamaṇḍalu* or is placed on the hip. In most of the images, Varuṇa has his special emblem the noose in one of his hands while he has the lotus with a long stalk either in the second or the third hand. In some of the representations, the god has a book in one of his hands which appears to have been the result of the free will on the part of the artists. In one of the representations, however, the god has a *makara-ketu* (*makara*-topped banner) in one of his hands in accordance with the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Usually, Varuṇa has been shown standing in the *abhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* pose. He puts on either a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* or sometimes a *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Besides, he puts on a number of ornaments like necklace, earrings, bracelets, armlets, etc. and so also *yajñopavīta*. At Khajurāho, Varuṇa has a *makara* as his vehicle, the figure of which is being carved facing to left or to right on the pedestal. Usually, he is not accompanied by the attendants or the worshipful ascetics. One of the sculptures, however, shows a female attendant and the other a male attendant. In other example, there is a *Śaṅkha-puruṣa* who is holding a conch-shell with both of his hands. In a few examples, there are garland-bearers or devotees in *añjali mudrā* on the pedestals.³

No less interesting figure of Varuṇa belonging to the 13th century A.D. comes from Puri⁴ (now added to the collection of the Patna Museum). Seated in *lalitāsana* on his mount *makara* on the *triratha* pedestal with his left leg tucked up and the right one pendant, the two-armed deity is having a serpent-noose (*nāga-pāśa*) in his right hand and the left hand placed on the left thigh is carrying a lotus by its stalk. Makaras, Kinnaras, Vidyādhara and Kirttimukhas on the upper part of the slab are carved outside the trefoil arch. What renders the figure as most outstanding is that it is endowed with moustaches and a pleated beard, and in this respect the

1. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, fig. 66.

Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 150.

Mitra, D., *Bhubaneśwar*, p. 45, pl. XI, c.

2. Majumdar, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 652, fig. 103.

3. Awasthi, R., *Khajurāho-kī-Deva-Pratimāyān*, pp. 225-27, figs. 95-96.

4. Patna Museum No. Arch. 27, pl. II.2.

figure marks a departure from the earlier representations. An image of Varuṇa with the *makara* as his vehicle was also found in a temple of the Kangra district.¹

One of the best pieces in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum² (E. Bengal) is the beautiful figure of Varuṇa from Dhuroil (Rajshahi). Tastefully decorated, the god sits in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat on a *triratha* pedestal on which his much mutilated mount *makara* is discernible. He holds a snake (really a noose in the shape of a snake, *nāga-pāśa*) in his right hand, whereas his left hand, now broken, must have held a water-pot. The sculpture is a fine specimen of the Bengal art belonging to the mediaeval period.

The stone slab of the Pāla period stuck on the outer wall of the compound of the Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya representing the figures of five divinities includes the figure of Varuṇa.³ Varuṇa has been represented seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose with the right leg pendant and the left one folded and placed on the seat. The objects held in the hands of the deity are not quite clear. In his left hand, which is held low near the thigh, the deity appears to be holding some circular or flowery object which may be regarded as a rosary or a lotus flower. The other hand lifted up and showing the attitude of protection (*abhaya*) also seems to be holding some indistinct object, looking more or less like a noose. But the deity has a peculiar mount which presents considerable difficulty in respect of identification of the god. The hind part of the mount is treated like a pair of human legs folded at the knee in a manner done at the time of swimming. The waist, the hip and the thigh are more or less human-like. But the front part is quite queer. It is not a human torso. Its delineation is suggestive of a particular kind of species of fish having the main part of the body much flat. Such a variety of fish is commonly found in the Ganges. The mount has two attachments on its front on the either side. They are certainly not the two human arms. The joints of the two extension-like objects are against furnishing such a suggestion. They also appear to have been provided with the sole intention of suggesting the parts to be usually used in the act of swimming. The figure of the mount is thus not a real representation of any particular living creature, but a purely imaginary creation of the artist's fancy. This much is, however, quite evident that the mount of the deity has been endowed with features which are indicative of its association with water, and, hence, may reasonably be regarded as a sea-monster. Varuṇa, who is the regent of the western quarter and lord of the waters, is to be represented in sculptures as of strong constitution, sitting or standing upon a fabulous marine monster.⁴ The figure of the mount carved below the deity may, therefore, be reasonably regarded as the mount of Varuṇa. This view is further strengthened as the deity carries a noose in one of his hands, which is a

1. ASIAR, 1915-16, pl. XXXIV.

2. HBR, I, p. 463.

3. Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume, pp. 712-14 & plate.

4. Agni Purāṇa, ch. 51/15; Brhatsaṃhitā, ch. 57/42 etc.

special emblem of Varuṇa. The figure has also another important feature which, however, is not very often shown in sculptural representations of the god. In the figure, the deity is shown slightly pot-bellied, as he is required to be made '*kiñchit-pralamba-jāṭhara*' according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.¹ This deity sitting upon a mythical figure of the waters and holding a noose in one of his hands is no other than Varuṇa. Usually, in sculptures, Varuṇa is represented in association with *makara*—an animal having the head and the legs of an antelope and the tail of a fish—or a crocodile as his mount; but, whatever the mount may be, it has certainly features showing its association with the waters. It is but natural that the lord of the waters should have a mount from amongst the species of the sea; and it is, therefore, nothing unusual if an imaginary mount having the characteristics of creatures living in the waters has been provided to the god. The figure is, however, quite queer, not so far found in any of the sculptural representations of Varuṇa, excepting in the one just described.

The Gwalior Museum possesses a nice sculpture of the Gurjara-Pratihāra period, datable in c. 9th century A.D., which represents Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans, standing between two pilasters. The four-armed god is readily identified by his typical *pāśa* (noose) held in his front right hand by its looped end and by his fabulous *makara* shown behind him facing to the left on the pedestal. While his front left hand is pendant, his back left hand is holding a *ratna-pātra*. His back right hand is, however, broken. The god puts on appropriate ornaments and his hair has been tastefully gathered into a knot on the top of his head (Fig. 6).

The wonderful sculpture from Kanauj, belonging to the Gurjara-Pratihāra work, depicting the marriage of Śiva with Umā (Kalyāṇasundara *mūrti* of Śiva)² deserves mention in this connection. In this sculpture a number of divinities, including Varuṇa, are shown fluttering over the principal figures. Occupying the upper left corner of the scene, he is in no way iconographically different from most of the examples cited above. Riding on the back of his mount *makara* to left, he is holding a *pāśa* by its looped end in his upraised right hand. The figure being in profile, the other hand is hidden and so it cannot be made out as to what did he hold in it (Fig. 1).

Varuṇa, the lord of the western quarter, is thus shown in the north Indian representations two-armed, slightly pot-bellied, either seated or standing, and carrying *pāśa*, his most characteristic emblem. Usually his vehicle is a *makara*, on whose back he rides or whose figure is carved on the pedestal. Very rarely he is provided with a swan (as found in the examples from Bhubaneśvara) as his vehicle. And so

1. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, ch. 52; Rao, *op. cit.*, II, ii, pp. 260ff.

2. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 68.

Goswami, A., *Indian Temple Sculpture*, pl. 15.

Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Sculpture*, pl. 34.

also he is very rarely endowed with a beard and moustaches (as in the Puri example); otherwise all the figures are found clean-shaven. Thus in his essential features, he does not seem to differ from the Buddhist or the Jaina version of Varuṇa. A Buddhist or Jaina Varuṇa is also white coloured, rides a *makara* and holds a noose in one of his hands.¹ One Jaina text, however, provides him with a fish-mount—undoubtedly having connection with water or sea—like the lord whose mount it serves. The Jaina form of Varuṇa, according to Bhattacharya,² may be distinguished only by this symbol of fish, as some texts render him. The Buddhist form of Varuṇa, as referred to above, has also a *pāśa* as his attribute and *makara* as his mount; but the Buddhist Varuṇa is required to have a canopy of seven hoods—a feature quite alien to the Brahmanic figures of the god.

As in northern India, so also in the southern part of the country figures of Varuṇa are extremely rare. Neither Gopinatha Rao nor Jouveau-Dubreil has illustrated any figure of the god in his work on Hindu iconography. An attractive figure of Varuṇa, belonging to the early Chalukyan period, in the Prince of Wales Museum,³ Bombay, however, represents the god in a manner found in northern India. He is shown seated in *lalitāsana* on the back of his favourite mount, the *makara*, with his most characteristic emblem, the noose. His consort is also exhibited sitting to his proper right on the same mount in *lalitāsana*. Both the lord and his consort are putting on a number of jewelleries on their persons. The figure though having some affinities with the Gupta form is heavier in treatment. Varuṇa also appears in the famous Ellorā relief depicting Śiva's marriage with Umā⁴ as one of those supernatural beings and gods who came down from the heaven to witness the celestial union. On the upper right side of the scene, in the second row, he is depicted as a two-armed figure riding on the back of a *makara* to left with a noose held in his upraised left hand. At Ellorā, in Cave No. XVI as well, Varuṇa, who has been represented standing, is holding his special emblem, the *pāśa*, in his upraised right hand. His mythical *makara* is seen facing to left behind him (Fig. 7). The south Indian representations of Varuṇa are thus much akin to the iconographic details of the god as found in the north Indian examples.

1. *Niṣpannayogāvali*, p. 61.

Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, p. 153.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

3. *Handbook to the Centenary Exhibition, Archaeological Survey of India*, December, 1961, p. 56, pl. XXII.A.

4. Gangoly, O.C., *The Art of the Rashtrakutas*, pl. 21.

Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, pl. 237.

VĀYU

VĀYU is the god of the winds and guardian of the north-western sector of the universe. Reckoned as one of the five elements, this elemental Vedic deity is often associated with Indra in the *R̥g-veda*,¹ as Vāta with Parjanya. Although of equal rank with Indra, Vāyu does not occupy so important a position. In the *Puruṣa-sūkta*,² he is said to have sprung from the breath of Puruṣa, and elsewhere, he is described as the son-in-law of Tvastṛ.³ He is made to occupy the same chariot with Indra, and in conjunction with him, the first draught of the Soma libation. He is rarely connected with the Maruts, although in one instance, he is said to have begotten them from the rivers of heaven.⁴ In a later age, Vāyu or Pavana is said to have had a son Hanumat by a monkey-mother, Añjanī. Hanumat (Pavanaputra) is well known to have played a most conspicuous part in Rāma's expedition in search of Sītā. In the *Mahābhārata*,⁵ Bhīma, one of the bravest of the Pāṇḍava brothers, is also said to be a son of Vāyu.

Vāyu is described as being most handsome in form and he is said to move in a shining car drawn by a pair of red or purple horses or by several teams consisting of ninety-nine or a hundred or even a thousand horses.⁶ Vāyu's car, wherein Indra is also his companion,⁷ is said to have a golden seat, touching the sky.⁸

In the *Mahābhārata*,⁹ he is represented as riding a stag. As the lover of Kuntī, Vāyu comes riding upon a stag (*mṛgārūḍhaḥ*). It is, however, interesting to note that in subsequent literature and in the iconographic texts, it is this stag which is given to the god as his vehicle. The *Agni Purāṇa*¹⁰ mentions Vāyu as holding a

1. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 81-82.

2. *RV*, 10, 90, 13.

3. *RV*, 8, 26, 21-22.

4. *RV*, 1, 134, 4.

5. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 13.

6. *RV*, 4, 46, 3.

7. *RV*, 4, 46, 2; 48, 2; 7, 91, 5.

8. *RV*, 4, 46, 4.

9. *Mbh.*, 1, 123, 12.

10. *Agni P.*, ch. 52/14.

banner in one of his hands (the object to be placed in the other hand being not mentioned) and having a stag as his mount. The *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi*¹ and the *Śilparatna*² lay down that Vāyu should exhibit *varada* by his right hand and hold a flag in his left hand, and he should have a stag as his mount. The *Matsya Purāṇa*³ also provides him a stag-mount but a banner and a flag in his right and left hands respectively. According to the *Amṣumadbhedāgama*⁴ he has a banner in his right hand and a staff in his left, but a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*). The *Śrītattvanidhi*⁵ also mentions a banner (*dhvaja*) and a staff in his hands; but instead of a lion-throne, it supplies a stag (*mṛga*) as his vehicle. The *Suprabhedāgama*⁶ also gives a stag-mount to the god and a banner in his left hand; but substitutes an elephant-goad (*aṅkuṣa*) in place of the banner in the right hand. The *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*⁷ also endows Vāyu with an elephant-goad in his right hand and a stag as his mount; but the work is silent as to the object in his left hand. The *Rūpamaṇḍana*,⁸ the *Devatā-mūrti Prakaraṇa*⁹ and the *Rūpavatāra*¹⁰ describe Vāyu as a full-fledged god ruling over the north-western quarter of the universe and as four-armed, showing *varada mudrā*, a banner (*dhvaja* or *daṇḍa*), a flag and a water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) in his four hands. Thus Vāyu is required to be fashioned as a handsome youth, either two or four-armed, and shown either on a *siṃhāsana* (as given in the *Amṣumadbhedāgama*) or as riding a stag (*mṛga*) which is his most characteristic vehicle. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*,¹¹ however, describes him somewhat differently. In this text, he is said to be two-armed, his two hands supporting the ends of a fluttering scarf, with his garment being inflated by the wind (*vāyyapuritavastra*), depicting movement and speed of the god, his mouth being open and his hair dishevelled, also indicative of his swift movement. To his left should be seated his consort. In the *kavacha* text from the *Varāha Purāṇa*, appended to the *Devī-Mahātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the female energy of Vāyu (i.e. Vāyavi) is described to have a deer as her conveyance.

Banerjea has made a very significant observation that this description of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*¹² follows to a great extent the representation of the Zoroastrian Wind-god, Vāta (OA△O), on the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. On the coins of Kaniṣka,¹³ the wind-god is shown represented running to the left or to the right, with

1. *Abhilaṣit.*, 3/1/811.

2. *Śilparatna* (Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, App. B, p. 262).

3. *Matsya P.*, ch. 260/66.

4. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, App. B, p. 261.

5. *Śrītattvanidhi*, p. 105.

6. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

8. *Rūpamaṇḍana*, ch. 2/36.

9. *Devatā-mūrti Prakaraṇa*, ch. 4/64.

10. *Rūpavatāra*, ch. 14.

11. *Viṣṇudh.*, ch. 58, vv. 1-6.

12. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 526.

13. Whitehead, *PMC*, I, pl. XVIII, 83 and 91.

his hairs dishevelled. He is, however, radiate and draped. On Huviṣka's coin¹ also, he is displayed running to the left with his hairs dishevelled; but at the same time, he is holding the two ends of a scarf fluttering over his head with his two hands upraised. He is unradiated and his drapery is inflated. These details are undoubtedly in accordance with the prescriptions of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

Sculptural representations of Vāyu are, however, very rare. Banerjea² tells us that in early mediaeval temples of cult gods, Vāyu, shown as riding on a stag and holding a flag in his hand, occupies his allotted corner in the outer side of the structure. Gopinatha Rao³ also mentions that Vāyu should be shown seated either on a *siṃhāsana* or on a deer, and remarks that the latter is more often met with in sculptures as the vehicle of Vāyu.

An interesting image of Vāyu comes from Abaneri⁴ (Rajasthan) in which the deity is shown standing to front on a plain rectangular block of stone, with his left leg firmly planted on the pedestal and the right one slightly bent. Assigned to c. 9th century A.D., the god is represented as a handsome youth, clean shaven, and with two arms, and in accordance with the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, he is holding the two ends of a scarf fluttering behind his head with his upraised hands—the fluttering scarf resembling the scarf held by the Wind-god on the coins of Huviṣka. But neither the hairs of the god are dishevelled, nor his dress inflated, as required by the text and as found on the Kuṣāṇa coins. On the other hand, the hairs are tastefully arranged and secured in place by means of a low *mukuṭa* (Fig. 8). The *Viṣṇudharmottara* is, however, silent with regard to his vehicle; but in the present sculpture, a stag (*mr̥ga*) with its typical elongated curvilinear horns, the usual vehicle of the god, is seen behind the right leg of the Wind-god, as if in the act of jumping and running away swiftly to the right. The important cognisances of the god in this instance are the fluttering scarf held in the upraised hands of the god and the stag-mount.

One of the excellent specimens of the Gurjara-Pratihāra work from Kanauj, belonging to the 9th century A.D., represents the marriage of Śiva with Umā, and the august union is being witnessed by a number of gods and celestial beings. One of the gods who had assembled to witness the divine function is Vāyu,⁵ the god of the winds. In this sculpture as well, Vāyu is represented as a handsome youth, two-armed, holding the ends of a scarf fluttering over his head with both of his upraised hands, exactly in a manner noticed on the coins of Huviṣka.⁶ But the god is not

1. *Ibid.*, pl. XIX, no. 155.

2. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 528.

3. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, p. 533.

4. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 57, b.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. 68.

Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Sculpture*, pl. 34.

Goswami, A., *Indian Temple Sculpture*, pl. 15.

6. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, 155.

standing on a pedestal; he is rather shown riding upon the back of a horse running swiftly to the left (Fig. 1). It may, however, be pointed out that the vehicle of Vāyu usually mentioned in the texts and represented in the sculptures is a stag (*mṛga*) and not a horse. The presence of a horse as the vehicle of Vāyu renders the representation quite unique and may be explained through the Vedic description, in which, as already referred to, Vāyu is said to move in a shining car drawn by a pair of red or purple horses.¹ In the *Mahābhārata*,² horses have been mentioned as swift as thought or wind; elsewhere : "He (Vāyu) goes through air, the swiftest of beings; racing horses 'drink the wind'."³ It is thus no wonder, if Vāyu, the god of wind, is provided with a racing horse as his vehicle. Horse appears also to be the vehicle of Vāyu, the Wind-god, in equally another excellent piece of sculpture belonging to the same Gurjara-Pratihāra work, which represents the Virāṭa-mūrti (cosmic form) of Viṣṇu,⁴ along with an assemblage of numerous gods. The Wind-god occupies the extreme left corner of the sculpture in the third row in which other miniature figures of the gods also occur, and he is shown, as in the preceding example, riding on the back of a horse and holding the two ends of the fluttering scarf with his upraised hands. The treatment of the sculpture is exactly similar to the earlier one, with the only difference that the spirited horse, the fleet-footed vehicle of the god, has its head raised up as if in an endeavour to run away as swiftly as possible.

A number of images of Vāyu hail from Gujarat. Existence of several temples all over this state evidently suggests that Vāyu was worshipped by certain sections of the people in this part of the country. The ancient maritime trade, according to M.R. Majmudar,⁵ of some of the merchants of Gujarat with countries situated in the north-western corner of the Arabian Sea partly explains the existence in Gujarat of the uncommon worship of Vāyu who is the protector of that quarter. Vāyu is naturally propitiated in order that the winds may be congenial to their journey and trade, and that the ships might have good speed. An image of Vāyu located at Pattan,⁶ a metallic piece, represents the god accompanied by his consort. The lord of the north-western quarter is represented four-armed, holding a rosary (*akṣamālā*) in his lower right hand, a banner (*dhvaja*) in his upper right hand, and a water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) in his lower left hand, besides displaying *varada mudrā* by his upper left hand. His consort Vāyavī, Añjanī of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the mother of Hanumat, who accompanies her lord, has her face monkey-like. The vehicle, the antelope, is shown at the feet at the left hand corner.

Another image of the god in stone placed in a niche at the north-west corner of

1. *RV*, 4, 46, 3.

2. *Mbh.*, 1, 225, 11.

3. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 96.

4. Munshi, *op. cit.*, pl. 66.

Goswami, A., *op. cit.*, pl. 16.

Sivaramamurti, C., *op. cit.*, pl. 33.

5. *JISOA*, XI, 1943, p. 114.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

the main temple at Vāḍnagar,¹ Gujarat (c. 13th century A.D.) is much similar in iconographic details to the preceding example, with the only difference that he holds something resembling a lotus stalk in his upper left hand, instead of exhibiting the hand simply in the *varada mudrā*. The vehicle, the stag, is shown to the right in this case. There is still another image of the god from the temple at Broach² (inscribed samvat 1510) in black granite. It is also four-armed and displays the same objects as found in the Pattan example; but the objects held in the hands of the present example are not in the same order as in the figure from Pattan. In this case, *varada mudrā* is displayed by the lower right hand, whereas the rosary, the banner and the water-vessel are carried in the upper right, upper left and the lower left hands. The vehicle is seen behind the image of the god.

The Vāyu temple as Baroda has both Vāyu and his consort, Vāyavi.³ The image prepared out of white marble is identical to the one from Broach in iconographic details. Vāyavi-devī is in the sitting posture, as if she were riding a deer, with one of her four hands holding a child, very probably her son Māruti.

A painting of cloth, belonging to the 17th century A.D., representing the ten guardian deities of the universe,⁴ which has much iconographic importance rather than aesthetic, depicts Vāyu, the lord of the wind, standing, four-armed, carrying banners in his two upper hands, a rosary in the lower right hand and a water-vessel in the lower left hand. The antelope, as if in great speed, is depicted running towards the right.

An image of Vāyu found at Benisagar in the Singhbhum district of Bihar also represents the god standing and holding a flag-staff in the left hand, with his typical mount, the stag, carved on the pedestal.⁵

At Khajurāho, Vāyu has been provided with four arms. Usually, the deity has a flag in the front hand or it is shown in the *varada mudrā*, the second has a flag, a lotus stalk or a book, the third has a lotus stalk or a flag and a book, and the fourth hand carries a book. According to the iconographic texts, a flag is the main attribute of Vāyu. At Khajurāho, the flag has been represented in three different ways : (i) a flag flying without a shaft, (ii) a small flag flying atop a shaft, and (iii) a large flag, the shaft of which is held in the right hand, with one of its flying ends held by the left hand. Vāyu has been shown standing in the *ṭṛbhaṅga* or the *dvibhaṅga* pose. Usually, he has a *kaṇḍamukuṭa* over his head, but sometimes he has a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and in one case a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, besides a number of ornaments decorating his person. The miniature figure of his vehicle, the stag, is carved on the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 114 and illustration on p. 108.

5. *JBRS*, XLII, p. 6.

pedestal. In one case, instead of one, there are two stags on the pedestal. One of the examples shows a hare instead on the pedestal. Generally there are no attendants to Vāyu, but in one example, there is a flywhisk-bearer to his right, and in another on this side a devotee, sitting with both his palms folded in the *añjali mudrā*.¹

A study of the north Indian images of Vāyu would thus show that the deity may be assigned either two or four arms. If two-armed, he is depicted either holding the ends of a scarf fluttering behind or over his head or the banners in his hands. In the case of the four-armed images, his attributes have been found to be a rosary, a banner (*dhvaja*), a flag (*patākā*) and a water-vessel. The usual vehicle of the god found in the sculptures, in accordance with the iconographic texts, is a stag; but he is also found riding a racing horse, as in the Kanauj specimens. The main idea appears to be to provide the god with the swiftest of the vehicles whose velocity could be easily comparable to that of the wind.

According to all Jaina authorities, Vāyu rides a deer. His attribute, according to some Śvetāmbara texts, is a banner, while according to others, it is a *vajra* (thunder-bolt). The Digambara account of the god differs very little from that of the Śvetāmbara as it mentions a wooden weapon instead as his emblem. Vāyu is the guardian or lord of the north-western quarter. The Jaina Vāyu, thus, differs not essentially from the Brahmanic Vāyu. The assignment of the attribute of a *vajra*, according to B.C. Bhattacharya,² seems to be a new idea, and so also the symbol of a wooden weapon, attributed by the Digambaras, is another peculiar feature unknown to the Brahmanism. The Buddhist Vāyu also rides a deer and shows *vāta-puta* (empty fold) in his two hands.³ Thus both the Buddhist and the Jaina iconographic details of the images of Vāyu, the lord of the north-western quarter, are to much extent similar to the Brahmanic descriptions.

As in northern India, so also in the southern part of the country images of Vāyu are extremely rare. Vāyu, however, appears in one of the most outstanding examples of Indian art at Ellorā, in the relief which illustrates the theme of Śiva's marriage with Umā,⁴ amongst the supernatural beings who gathered all round to behold the august union. Vāyu is depicted as a two-armed handsome youth riding on a stag with his left hand placed on the back of his mount and his right hand holding a banner. This south Indian representation of the god, belonging to the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, is exactly in accordance with the iconographic prescription of the *Agni Purāṇa*.⁵ The south Indian representation also thus practically shows no difference from the north Indian counterparts.

1. Awasthi, R., *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen*, pp. 228-30, figs. 95-98.

2. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 153-54.

3. *Niṣpannayogāvali*, p. 61.

4. Gangoly, *The Art of the Rashtrakutas*, pl. 21.

5. *Agni P.*, ch. 52/14.

KUBERA

KUBERA, the king of the Yakṣas, is regarded as the lord of the riches and the guardian of the northern quarter of the universe. He is also a god of no little significance. Literary references and sculptural evidences clearly point to his worship being very common at one time. He is said to be the son of Viśravas by Iḍavidā¹ and grandson of Pulastya. He is, therefore, well known by his patronymics of Vaiśravaṇa and Paulastya. Though he is not found mentioned in the *Ṛg-veda*, his conception goes back to the *Atharva-veda* where he seems to be associated with riches (and also called Dhanapati, Nidhipati),² and wherein he is mentioned as the chief of the evil beings or spirits of darkness. As suggested by Cunningham,³ it is possible to trace him in the early Greek mythology, as early as the 8th century B.C. during the time of Hesiod, corresponding with Ploutos, the Greek god of wealth, who, according to Hesiod and Diodorous, is the son of Iasion by Demeter (Earth—Idavida).

In the *Mahābhārata* also, he is mentioned as the lord of riches and regent of the northern quarter. Nidhipa and Nidhipati are the titles given to him. Kauṭilya⁴ has referred to the installation of his images in a fort. The *Mahābhāṣya*⁵ of Pātañjali also alludes to him many a time. While in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,⁶ Vaiśravaṇa is called the king over the kings, in other Purāṇas, he is simply styled as the king of the Yakṣas. Kālidāsa⁷ also calls him king of the kings. The chief of the Yakṣas is also known to be a friend, even a brother, of Śiva.⁸ His capital is called Alakā and Mt. Kailāśa is also well known as Kuberāchala and Kuberādri, 'Kubera's hill'.⁹

Kubera is frequently mentioned in the Buddhist works under his patronymic of Wessawano (Vaiśravaṇa) as an attendant of Buddha along with the guardian chiefs of the other three quarters. In the *Lalitavistara*, he is enumerated as one of the

1. *Mbh.*, 5, 139, 14.
2. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 337.
3. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 21.
4. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, p. 54.
5. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 426.
6. *Viṣṇu P.*, p. 153.
7. *Meghadūta*, śloka 3.
8. *Bhāgavata P.*, 9.2.32-33.
9. *Mbh.*, 12, 44, 13.

chiefs of the Kāmāvachāra Devaloka of which all the inhabitants were subject to sensual enjoyments. In the Pāli *Āṭānāṭiya Suttānta*, he is described as the sole monarch of Uttarakuru with Viṣāṇa, Alakanandā or Alakā as its capital.

As a matter of fact, in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Lalitavistara* version of the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttānta*, Maṇibhadra (also called Maṇivara or Maṇichara) appears as the chief attendant of Kubera, and like him, functions as the chief of wealth and treasure and the patron of merchants, whence he is called Yakṣendra, Nidhīsa, Dhanapati etc. and receives equal honour with him at the hands of the Gandharvas.¹

With the Jainas, Kubera is the attendant of the nineteenth Arhat of the present Avasarpinī.

The word Kubera literally means 'kutsita' or 'deformed' and is said to refer to the malformation of his three legs.² It is, however, in some of his modern representations that he appears as the three-legged.³ Cunningham points out that 'there is no allusion to any deformity in the Buddhist books, while there is a distinct testimony to the contrary in the story of Śākya who possessed all the thirty-two points of beauty likened to him'. It may, however, be noted that in the *Mahābhārata*⁴ as well there are references to beautiful persons of unknown origin being mistaken for Yakṣas or Yakṣis or other comely semi-divine beings. It may reasonably be inferred that their master Kubera may also have been considered as possessing points of personal beauty.

A study of various texts characterising his images brings about several important traits. All these texts almost invariably render Kubera pot-bellied. In the *Mahābhārata*,⁵ Vaiśravaṇa is said to be golden in colour like a sun. He is also said to be united with Rddhi (prosperity), who then becomes his wife.⁶ He is also united with Lakṣmī, who later on is said to be his wife.⁷ Bhadrā is also mentioned as Vaiśravaṇa's consort.⁸ Describing Kubera, the *Bṛhatsamhitā*⁹ mentions that he should have a man as his vehicle. He should be possessed of a very big belly and over his head there should be a crest or diadem turned towards left. Hemādri's¹⁰ characterisation of Kubera along with other Yakṣas is of great import. According to this work, Yakṣas should be pot-bellied, two-armed, holding *nidhis* (treasures) in their hands, and be shown fierce due to drunkenness; their lord Vaiśravaṇa should hold a club in his hand. The *Amśumad-*

1. Majumdar, *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 464.

2. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

4. Sivaramamurti, C., *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*, p. 79.

5. *Mbh.*, 3, 159, 126 f.

6. *Mbh.*, 3, 139, 8.

7. *Mbh.*, 3, 168, 13.

8. *Mbh.*, 1, 199, 6.

9. *Br. Sam.*, ch. 57, v. 57.

10. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 338-39.

*bhedāgama*¹ describes the god as two-armed, the hands being shown in the *varada* and the *abhaya* poses, a club being also shown in the left hand. He should have a sheep for his mount and be attended by his consort and the two *nidhis*, *śaṅkha* and *padma*, in the form of two powerful spirits (*bhūtakāraṇ mahābalaṃ*). In other place, he is stated to be surrounded by eight kinds of wealth and a number of Yakṣas. The *Suprabhedāgama*² also lays stress on the terrific features of the two-armed god holding a club in one of his hands. The *Śilparatna*³ characterises the god as a friend of Hara (Śiva), riding a chariot drawn by men, and holding a mace in one of his hands. He is to be pot-bellied, long armed and accompanied by *aṣṭanidhis* and Guhyakas on all sides. According to the *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*⁴ as well the god rides on a man accompanied by two *nidhis*, *śaṅkha* and *padma*, and holds a club. The *Matsya Purāṇa*⁵ also mentions him pot-bellied, surrounded by the eight *nidhis* and riding a man. The *Rūpamaṇḍana*,⁶ however, describes the god as four-armed, holding a club, a purse containing money (*nidhi*), a citron, and a water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). The last line of the verse which is corrupt describes him both as *gajārūḍhaḥ* (riding an elephant) and *naravāhanaḥ* (riding a man).

The fairly detailed description of Dhanada given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*⁷ contains some interesting additional iconographic traits, the most important of them being his northerner's dress and armour (*apīchyaveṣa*, *kavachī*), his four hands (the right ones carrying a mace and a spear and the left ones, a jewel and a pot), the two fangs in the mouth, his moustache and the bearded face, and his consort Rddhi (prosperity personified) seated on his lap.

Kubera, thus, according to one authority is to be golden yellow in colour, while according to another crimson. His underwear is to be red and the upper garment white. His person should be decorated with various kinds of ornaments including a *kirīṭa* or a *karaṇḍa mukuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas* and necklaces composed of a series of golden coins. He is usually two-armed, rarely four-handed, holding a club or mace in one of his hands, accompanied by two *nidhis* (*śaṅkha* and *padma*), even by the eight *nidhis*. Usually good in appearance, he is sometimes terrific looking, has either a man (*nara*, not ordinary or mortal man, but some mythical anthropomorphic type) or a sheep or an elephant for his mount, is pot-bellied and long armed. The texts, thus, are not unanimous with regard to the attributes and the vehicle of the god, but his pot-belly (*lambodara*, *mahodara*), a man as his mount, a receptacle of wealth and numerous ornaments over the person of the deity are some of his usual cognisances. Kubera, being the god of wealth, has been portrayed to typify a wealthy

1. Rao, *EHI*, II, App. B, p. 263.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

5. *Matsya P.*, ch. 260.20-21.

6. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

7. *Viṣṇudh.*, ch. 53 of Bk. III, vv. 1-7; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

man. His well nourished corpulent body, richly jewelled ornaments, money-bag or receptacle of coins in his hand and his association more often with the two *nidhis* (sometimes with all the eight *nidhis*) are the features appropriate to the lord of riches. Besides being a personification of material wealth and prosperity, he is also a warrior; hence, a club or a mace (*gadā*), a weapon of war, in one of his hands. It is just possible he has been given the mace to protect the wealth and the treasures over which he presides. Again Kubera has his abode in the Himālayas and it may be interesting to note that to ride a man or a *vimāna*, a kind of palanquin, is a custom which is in vogue in the Himālayan regions of which Kailāśa is a part. It is, therefore, no wonder if Kubera is given a man or a palanquin carried on by several men or a chariot drawn by several men, presumably the Yakṣas.

In the Buddhist mythology, Kubera, known as Jambhala, is sculptured exactly as in the Hindu representations; but he is immediately recognised by a mongoose which is generally shown either as sitting upon his left lap or placed on his left side.

A Jaina Kubera varies no wise from the Brahmanic Kubera. In the Jainism also he is conceived as a deity riding a man, bearing gems and a club. He also rides the chariot called *puṣpaka*. His corpulent body, club and purse guide to his identification. The Jaina Kubera is sometimes characterised by the presence of a Jina miniature above the head-dress of the deity.¹

An earlier representation of Kubera is found sculptured on the inner face of one of the pillars at Bharhut with the inscription 'Kupiro Yakho' (Kubera Yakṣa) recording his name and identifying him for certainty.² Kubera stands with both the hands clasped in the *namaskāra mudrā*, with his feet resting on the shoulders of a malformed, fat-bodied and pot-bellied Yakṣa sitting on his haunches and bent under the weight of the deity. Thus Kubera figures at Bharhut as a typical *naravāhana*, with a man as his vehicle, and answers to his description in the *Lalitavistara*,³ the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*,⁴ and the *Khila Harivaṃśa*;⁵ and not to his description given in the *Suttānīpāta*⁶ commentary as a *nārīvāhana* (a woman as his vehicle). His weapon of war, which is a club, is not here represented. As the name implies, Kubera has little personal beauty, though his representation at Bharhut is quite pleasing, being devoid of his abdominal development.

In this connection reference may be made to the highly interesting Kuṣāṇa relief

1. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*.
2. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XXII, fig. 1.
3. *Lalitavistara*, ch. 8, XXIV.
4. *Bṛ. Saṃ.*, ch. 57, v. 57.
5. *Khila Harivaṃśa*, *Harivaṃśa parva*, XLIV.16-19.
6. *Suttānīpāta* commentary, *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 370.

(c. 1st century A.D.), now in the Mathurā Museum.¹ Besides the figures of Ardhanārīśvara, Viṣṇu and Gajalakṣmī, it also contains the figure of Kubera, who like others in the group is shown standing with his right hand held in the *abhaya mudrā*, suggesting him to be of divine rank. He, however, holds a purse, the emblem of riches, in his left hand and a mace-like object under his left armpit. The pot belly of the god is one of his most conspicuous features, but like the Bharhut figure, here also he is depicted without his usual corpulence, but unlike it, he has no vehicle, the *naravāhana* being absent.

This figure of Kubera in the Mathurā relief is closely linked with another separate figure of the god again from Mathurā and belonging practically to the same period. Obtained from Gosnakhera and deposited in the Mathurā Museum,² the figure shows some additional traits which soon became universal not only in the Brahmanic but also in the Buddhist and the Jaina Kubera figures. Though like the preceding one the god is characterised by his right hand in *abhaya mudrā*, the left hand carrying a purse and under the left armpit a long staff, yet unlike that, the deity has been provided with a slightly protrudent belly.

In and around Mathurā, numerous figures of Kubera have been brought to light. The reason is, however, not far to seek. Mathurā being an active centre of business in ancient times from where various trade routes diverged in different directions into other parts of the country, the figures of the god of wealth may certainly have been in great demand by the rich tradesmen who naturally preferred worshipping the lord of material prosperity and treasures. These figures of Kubera from Mathurā, now mostly deposited in the local Museum, have undoubted iconographic significance and they, besides a few already discussed, broadly resolve into three different types.

In the first type may be included those figures of the god wherein he has been carved to typify a wealthy man. The type may well be illustrated by means of the one found by Growse from 'a mound immediately adjoining the pillar marking the boundary of the township of Mathurā and the villages of Maholi and Palikhera lying due south of the Kankālī Tīlā and east of the Girdharpur mound.'³ The figure, depicted as squatting, is characterised by a great abdominal development. The god puts on a conspicuous wreath round his neck and a heavy earring hanging down. A scarf fastened round his belly and left knee suggests an easy posture of the god. He

1. JUPHS, Dec. 1937, pp. 30-34 (relief no. 2520).

JISOA, V, p. 124, pl. XIV.2.

Agrawala, *Cat. of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 41.

2. ASIAR, 1916-17, pt. i, pl. VII, d.

Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XLIV, d.

Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 83 (no. 613).

3. Growse, *Mathura*, p. 124.

Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XLIX, b.

Agrawala, *Cat. of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 78.

has lovely wig-shaped curls and locks of hair, well trimmed moustaches curling upward and forming a concave, sleepy eyes and peeping rows of teeth expressive of an indifferent smile. Both the arms are missing, the break indicating that they were raised upward.¹ In view of the absence of the attributes in the hands of the figure and of the vehicle near the feet, the figure may be doubtfully identified as that of Kubera. In this connection Dr. Agrawala remarks : 'The general style of the images, as well the pot-bellied feature, resemble with those of Kubera in Mathurā style'.² Several other figures characterised by similar features in the Mathurā art, mostly belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, can be noticed in the Mathurā Museum.³

The Mathurā figures of Kubera which may be included in the second type far out number the figures belonging to the other two types. Kubera, who is rendered pot-bellied, is almost invariably endowed with two arms, usually carrying a purse or money-bag in one of his hands and a cup or goblet (presumably a wine cup) in the other. Several varieties may be noticed in the figures of this type. In the majority of the cases, the god is shown seated at ease in *lalitāsana* on a pedestal; but examples are not wanting in which he is depicted as standing on a pedestal or a lotus seat. He may or may not be represented as accompanying his wife, Hārītī, who is characterised by a baby sitting on her lap or standing nearby, or sometimes holding a goblet in a manner similar to her lord. The deity is frequently seen carrying the cup and the purse in his right and left hands, though in some cases the arrangement of the objects held in the hands is reversed. In certain of the examples, the god holds either the purse or the cup, the latter being almost identical in all other respects to the former. Kubera is found putting on bejewelled head-dress and elaborate ornaments. In all these figures, the vehicle (*naravāhana*) of the god is conspicuous by its absence. Nor even the pots, usually two, sometimes eight, representative of the two or the eight *nidhis*, usually found in association of the deity in the mediaeval period, have been carved on the pedestal.⁴

In the figures of Kubera from Mathurā included under the third type, the god has been depicted as a jovial and thirsty dwarf who is plied with drink by an attractive handmaiden. A stone relief discovered by Growse at Palikhera⁵ in the suburb of Mathurā represents five figures under a tree, presumably a *kalpavṛkṣa* (wish-fulfilling tree). The principal figure, a fat man seemingly nude, is shown seated with his left leg tucked up on a low heap of stones laid in courses in the conventional manner usually

1. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 79ff, nos. C.6, C.7, C.24 etc.

4. Agrawala, V.S., *A Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, pp. 79ff, nos. C.9, C.10, C.11 etc. (represented alone by himself) and nos. C.8, C.12, C.28, C.29 etc. (represented with his consort).

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95 (no. C.2).

Smith, *HFAIC*, pp. 44-45, pl. 20A.

Growse, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

used to indicate mountain heights, suggesting here the mount Kailāśa, the abode of the deity. He is shown seated and drinking from an elongated queer shaped cup (a noggin, apparently of wood), which a male attendant is ready to replenish. The proceedings are being watched by another man, a woman, and a small boy (Fig. 9). The Palikhera block may be compared with two statuettes of the Gupta period in the Mathurā Museum, which represent a corpulent deity holding a cup in his left hand into which a female attendant is pouring some liquid. There can be hardly any doubt that these two statuettes represent the same figure in the so-called Bacchanalian group, who may be identified with Kubera on account of the pouch in the left hand in the two statuettes, which is the typical attribute of the god of wealth.¹

That the principal figure in the Bacchanalian association is that of Kubera admits of no doubt from another Mathurā relief as well belonging to the Gupta period. Obtained from the river Yamunā,² the relief represents both Kubera and his consort squatting side by side between two attendants, both of them holding wine cups in their right hands, while the cup in the hand of the male is being filled up from a long wine jug held by an attendant on the right side. The principal figure may unmistakably be identified with Kubera, for he is also holding a purse in his left hand. What renders the group highly interesting is that in front of the personages on a projecting flat pedestal have been exhibited two large bowls, evidently wine vessels.

A comparison may here be made with another stone sculpture from Huviṣka's monastery in the Gandhāran country,³ the subject of which differs in no respect from that of the foregoing examples. Now added to the collection of the Mathurā Museum, the figure also throws welcome light upon the meaning of the earlier discoveries just described. It represents a corpulent coarse looking man, apparently nude, squatted and holding in his right hand a cup, which a female attendant is about to fill from a jar. His left hand grasps a long object presumed to be a money-bag. The last attribute and the physique of the obese drinker permit of little doubt that the personage represented is Kubera, the god of riches, whose podgy form has become familiar from the many images discovered in Mathurā and Gandhāra regions. This sculpture is, however, of the mediaeval period.

Kubera (as Pañchika) and his consort Hārītī have been abundantly represented in the Gandhāra art.⁴ Depicted in various ways, the god is shown seated or standing,

1. Mathurā Museum nos. C.4 and C.5; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 f; Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XLIV, b.
ASR, I, pp. 242-44.
JASB, XLIV (1875), i, pp. 212-15, with two plates.
2. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 86 (no. 1694).
3. Smith, *HFAIC*, p. 45, pl. 20B.
Havell, E B., *A Handbook of Indian Art*, p. 190, pl. LXIX, A.
4. Majumdar, N.G., *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, pt. ii, p. 100.

sometimes in the company of his consort and sometimes alone. In whatever form, he is readily recognised by the dominating personality he has been invested with in the Hellenistic art, though iconographically he differs in no marked degree from his counterpart in the Mathurā art. In the Gandhāra sculptures too, he is distinguished by his corpulent and well-nourished body with a protrudent belly, the aspect of his richness being particularly emphasised through the richly jewelled ornaments displayed on his body and in his head-dress. The purse held in his hand in some of the sculptural representations further suggests him in the role of the dispenser of fortune.¹ Some sculptures again depict coins being poured out of a bag beneath the feet of the seated couple.² His military career is also indicated in some of the sculptures by the lance in his hand upon which he is made to lean when seated.³ In later examples, the god has been endowed with 'strong imperious features and a look of fierce determination in his eyes' and has also been provided with moustaches as in the large statuette of the god found at Tahkal near Peshawar and deposited in the Lahore Museum.⁴ Another important representation of the god, in which he is seated with his wife, is from Sahri-Bahlol in the Peshawar Museum,⁵ in which he has none of the fierceness of the war-god, rather he is the peace-loving god of wealth and prosperity, with eyes mild, features gentle, and holding no spear in his hand.

There are, however, two points which perforce attract our notice. Firstly none of the sculptures so far discussed, neither in the Mathurā art nor in the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra, with the only exception of the Bharhut figure, has been displaying the vehicle of Kubera, which is an anthropomorphic type (*naravāhana*), according to the various texts. Secondly, the god has also not been shown in the foregoing examples in association of the *nidhis* (treasures personified) which the texts speak of and which will be seen in later representations of the god, depicted as pots carved either on the pedestal or on the back slab, sometimes shown hanging from the wish-fulfilling tree.

A figure of Kubera from Pabhosa in the Mathurā art belonging to the post-Gupta period and housed in the Mathurā Museum is remarkable for it shows certain additional features so far unknown from sculptural representations. The two-armed god, bejewelled and slightly pot-bellied is shown seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on a cushioned seat beneath which are two jars (of treasure, perhaps symbolising the *śaṅkha* and the *padma nidhis*), on one of which his right leg is placed. He holds a cup in his right hand and a pouch in the left and is attended on either side

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

4. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pp. 104-05, fig. 143.
Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 59, pl. 33.

5. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-05, fig. 144.

Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, pl. 31.B.

Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, pl. 64.b.

by a bearded male and a female. Banerjea¹ has significantly remarked : 'The iconography has no doubt developed to a great extent by this period, but its former traits are not altogether obliterated'.

The jars of the treasure, however, already begin to make their appearance in the Gupta period and continue to be depicted in association with the god in the mediaeval period. Kubera retains some of the old features like his pot-belly and his purse in one of his hands.

A chaitya window from Bhumra belonging to the Gupta² period having pointed semi-circular projection at the top and leaf pattern projections on the sides, with a sunken medallion inside, shows a fat male seated on a throne with lathe turned legs, holding a lotus with its stalk in his left hand, the right hand being broken. There are three jars carved inside the medallion, one on each side and the third under the seat of the god. Although the purse and the wine cup of the Mathurā school are missing here, yet it may be reasonably surmised from the pot belly of the god and the three jars indicative of treasures that the figure is intended here to be of no other than that of Kubera.

Reference may be made here to another stone figure of Kubera obtained from Nālandā,³ although smaller in size yet excellently wrought. Besides the god being fully equipped with crown, ornaments and sacred thread, three overturned vases of wealth appear on the background, two on each side of his head and the third on the pedestal. Another image of Kubera from Benisagar⁴ in the Singhbhum district shows the god with four pots.

In one of the figures from Paharpur,⁵ Kubera is shown squatting with his hands on the knees and the legs resting on the pedestal in front within a square frame with beaded border. Kubera is distinguished by a purse held in his left hand from which rounded objects, obviously coins, are seen issuing. A detached image at Paharpur,⁶ however, represents the god pot-bellied, seated on a stool, below which appear the two *nidhis*, *śaṅkha* and *padma*. The god is seen holding a receptacle (in the fashion of a flask) in the left hand and exhibiting *varada mudrā* by the right.

The specimens in the Indian Museum, however, show Kubera as a fat dwarfish deity seated on a low couch with a bag in his left hand and what looks like a

1. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 2, p. 344.

Saraswati, S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, pl. XXII.100.

2. *MAI*-16, p. 12, pl. XIII.A.

3. *ASIAR*, 1927-28, p. 160.

4. *JBR*S, XLII, p. 6, fig. 3.

5. *MAI*-55, p. 55, pl. XXXVIII, b.

6. *JDL*, XXX, pp. 64-65.

ball in the right.¹ In the collection of the Assam Provincial Museum also, he is generally represented as having a pot belly and a vessel (probably of wealth) in his hand.² A somewhat late representation of Kubera (c. 900 A.D.) in Temple No. 9 at Osia in Rājasthāna is comparable with the effigies of the same deity in Gandhāra and elsewhere.³

Kubera as the guardian deity of the northern quarter of the universe makes his appearance in a number of Orissan temples. In the Brahmeśvara temple and the Megheśvara temple, he is characterised by the figure of a tree (presumably wish-fulfilling tree) with the eight pots of treasures attached to it.⁴ In some of the later Orissan temples as well, several or eight pots hanging from the branches of wish-fulfilling tree have been carved in association with Kubera, the lord of riches.⁵ Sometimes he has an indistinct object in his hand as in the Mukteśvara temple.⁶ Probably the object held by the god is a purse.⁷ In the Paraśurāmeśvara temple⁸ also, the distinctive symbol leading to the identification of the god is a vase held in the left hand. The figures of Kubera in Orissa, however, do not show any vehicle of the god.⁹

As a Dikpālaka, Kubera has been shown standing on the north-eastern corners of the temples at Khajurāho, else he has been represented mostly seated. Excepting a few two-armed figures having a wine cup and a *nakulaka* in the hands, all other representations of Kubera are four-armed. These four-armed figures have usually a wine cup or a fruit (sometimes held in the *varada mudrā* or placed on the waist) in the first hand, a lotus, a mace or a *nakulaka* in the second, a *nakulaka*, a lotus or a mace in the third and a *nakulaka* or a *kamaṇḍalu* in the fourth hand. A purse full of wealth is the natural feature of Kubera who is the lord of riches; hence, all the images are shown with a *nakulaka*-shaped long purse which appears to have been evidently derived from the *nakulaka* in the hands of the Buddhist Jambhala, a counterpart of the Brahmanical Kubera. More than often, it is found in the fourth hand of the deity. In some of the sculptures, a long *nakulaka* is found stretched behind the neck and held by the second and the third hands.¹⁰

As already referred to, the two-armed representations of Kubera have a wine cup and a *nakulaka* in the hands of the god. These are the features which have

1. Banerji, R.D., *EISMS*, p. 119.
- Bloch, T., *Suppl. Cat. of the Archl. Collection in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*.
2. Barua, B.K., *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 192.
3. Smith, *HFAIC*, p. 128, pl. 79, a.
4. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 97.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
10. Awasthi, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 232-34.

been noticed as early as in the Mathurā sculptures. In some of the sculptures at Khajurāho, Kubera is found drinking wine. A male or sometimes a female attendant standing nearby with a jar of wine held in the hand fills up the empty cup in the hand of the god with its content.¹

In the form of a Dikpālaka, Kubera, with a few exceptions in the *dvibhaṅga* pose, has been represented standing in the *trībhaṅga* pose. But in his representations found elsewhere, either on the body of the temples or in the museum, he is shown seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose. Some of the sculptures represent him pot-bellied. Kubera has generally a *karaṇḍa mukuta* over his head, in accordance with the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, but in one example, his hair has been done standing erect on the head. Very often there are some pots (*ghaṭas*) carved below the seat of the god, sometimes one of them being upturned or placed one above the other. Symbolising the *aṣṭa-nidhis*, nowhere there are eight jars in the Khajurāho sculptures nor there is any example like that at Bhubaneshwar wherein eight jars are found hanging from the branches of the wish-fulfilling tree (*kalpavṛkṣa*). As a general rule, Kubera has not been provided with any mount; but in one case, the mount is a ram and in another it looks very much like a dog. In very rare cases, there are attendants or devotees to the god.²

A rare sculpture at Khajurāho in the Kandariya Mahadeo temple represents Kubera in the company of his wife Riddhī. Kubera is shown sitting in *lalitāsana* with his wife sitting on his left thigh. The god holds a wine cup, a lotus stalk and a *nakulaka* in three of his four hands, whereas he is embracing his wife and touching her left breast by the remaining left hand. The goddess in her turn also embraces the god with her right hand and places it on his right shoulder, while she grasps a fish by her left hand. To the right of the god is a female attendant standing reverentially with a wine jar in her hand to fill up the cup of the lord when called upon to do so, and a male attendant standing on the left side of the goddess. Both the god and the goddess are appropriately bejewelled. On the pedestal are carved two decorated jars representing the *padma* and the *śaṅkha nidhis*. This sculpture is quite interesting and beautiful, more so as Kubera is found very rarely represented with his consort.³ A similar sculpture of the mediaeval period is presently housed in the Museum at Gwalior.⁴

There is a highly interesting stone panel of the Pāla period stuck on the outer wall of the compound of the Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya which represents figures of five divinities, Kubera being one of them.⁵ The deity, who is the lord of riches,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

2. Awasthi, R., *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen*, p. 235, figs. 99-103.

3. Awasthi, R., *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen*, p. 236, fig. 101.

4. Thakore, S.R., *Catalogue of the Sculptures in the Archl. Museum, Gwalior*, p. 16.

5. *Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume*, Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute, pp. 714-15. Plate.

has been shown pot-bellied, seated cross-legged, with a comparatively large pot (*kalaśa*), evidently the receptacle of wealth, gold and jewellery, beneath his seat. He is also two-armed; but unfortunately the object held in his right hand is too indistinct to make anything out of it. The object in his left hand is also not clear; but something like a string of beads appears to be dropping down from this hand of the god which may be regarded as a string of golden beads. He is thus to be identified by means of his corpulent body, the golden beads trickling down and the single receptacle of wealth carved on the pedestal.

The figure of Kubera from Jamsot in the Allahabad Museum, carved out of buff coloured sandstone, has its face damaged.¹ The god is seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on a cushion. He appears to be holding a wine cup in the lower left hand while the lower right hand is damaged. The sculpture is, however, individualised by the manner in which the god is holding the *nakulaka* (mongoose shaped purse) by his two back hands by throwing it behind the head. The sculpture belongs to c. 12th century A.D.

There is yet another figure of Kubera belonging to the same period from Bhita which is presently housed in the Allahabad Museum.² Carved out of buff coloured sandstone, the lowermost portion of the image below the knees is missing. The god seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose holds a wine cup in his right hand and a large *nakulaka* held perpendicularly in the left hand. On the either side of his shoulders are two attendants, a male and another a female. The male attendant to his right carries a jar of wine and the female attendant to his left a flywhisk. The workmanship of the sculpture is however imitative and of poor quality.

A highly remarkable specimen of Indian art from Kanauj³ depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī shows, among other divinities clustered on the upper part of the stone relief to witness the august union, the figure of Kubera, the lord of riches, who is readily recognised as in the Mathurā art by his pot-belly and the purse and the cup in his hands. He is, however, accompanied by his vehicle (*naravāhana*) too, being seated on the back of a human figure who is supporting the god by means of his two upraised hands.

Thus, a study of the figures of Kubera belonging to the northern part of the country tends to suggest that the sculptors employed various modes in the representation of the god from time to time which may be summed up in a few words. At Bharhut, Kubera stands on his *naravāhana*. No other features, nor even his pot belly, have been shown in this image. In a few images from Mathurā also, Kubera has been depicted without his usual corpulence. His vehicle too is absent. He is

1. Chandra, P. *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 123, pl. CVIII.319.

2. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 107, pl. XCIV.256.

3. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 68.

distinguished by the bag which he holds in his left hand; his divine status being indicated by his right hand in *abhaya mudrā*. In some of the Mathurā sculptures, the pot belly of the god begins to make its appearance, while retaining all the features mentioned above. Again, in some other Mathurā figures, Kubera has been represented simply as a wealthy man, having a large belly, elaborate ornaments, wig-shaped hair, well-trimmed moustaches curling upward, sleepy eyes etc. In majority of the sculptures from Mathurā, Kubera, retaining his pot-belly, is distinguished by a purse and a goblet (wine cup) in his hands, the former object being essentially an emblem of riches of which the god is the presiding deity. Kubera has also been depicted in the art of Mathurā as being plied with drinks served by an attractive handmaiden, i.e. in the Bacchanalian groups. Most of the features noticeable in the Mathurā figures are found in the representations of Kubera in the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra as well, such as the pot-belly of the god and numerous jewelleryes on his person. Some of the sculptures show purse in his hand, which sometimes is shown with rounded objects falling out from it beneath the feet of Kubera and his consort. Kubera is usually moustached. Kubera is also represented in his military career with a lance in his hand in the Gandhāra art. He is of muscular built, with usual protrudent belly, having the fierceness of a warrior, and moustached. In none of the sculptures from Mathurā and Gandhāra, Kubera has been provided with his vehicle. With a few exceptions, the sculptures do not show even the pots of treasures in association with the god. In the Gupta, post-Gupta and the mediaeval sculptures, as remarked by Banerjea,¹ the old traits have not altogether been obliterated. Kubera is shown as in earlier ones still pot-bellied and holding a purse in his hand. The iconography is also advanced. He is depicted with two or more or even eight pots of treasures carved on the pedestal or on the either side of his head and on the pedestal or shown as hanging from the boughs of the wish-fulfilling tree. He is generally shown seated on lotus in *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, the dangling leg resting upon either two or eight jars of treasures, one of them often upturned with rounded coins coming out of it. In all these specimens as well the vehicle of the god is conspicuous by its absence. The vehicle of the god (*naravāhana*), however, makes its appearance in the famous Kanauj relief, a Gurjara-Pratihāra work, depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, the god himself being characterised, as in the Mathurā figures, by his pot belly and the purse and the wine-cup in his hands.

Buddhist or Jaina figures of Kubera, however, do not show so great a variety as in the Brahmanic counterparts. Figures of Jambhala (the Buddhist god of wealth) hailing from different parts of the country have the pot belly feature as in the Brahmanic examples. Jars of treasures are also represented in association with Jambhala in certain early and late mediaeval sculptures. He, however, differs in one significant respect from the Brahmanic Kubera, and, it is that instead of a purse

1. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

in his hand, he is seen grasping a mongoose in one of his hands, which, when pressed, vomits streaks of wealth or rounded coins from his mouth, the mongoose being a veritable repository of wealth. In some of the sculptures, Jambhala has the figure of one or the other of the Dhyāni Buddhas or all the five in his head-dress or on the upper part of the stela. There is practically no difference between a Jaina and a Hindu figure of Kubera. Like the Buddhist Jambhala, the Jaina Kubera also bears sometimes the figure of a Jina in his crown or he may be shown associated with the figure of one of the Jinas. An Akota bronze depicts the nude Ādinātha in the company of Ambikā and Kubera.¹ Kubera like the Brahmanic counterpart is depicted as seated in the *sukhāsana* pose on a lotus seat with his stomach slightly protrudent and holding a ball in his right hand and an elongated purse in the left. He has a *karaṇḍamukuta* over his head and a number of jewelleries befitting the god of riches.

Neither Rao nor Dubreuil has illustrated any figure of Kubera from south India. The latter,² however, mentions in his work that Kubera is mounted on a white horse and holds a sword and buckler (*parisai*) in his hands, evidently in the role of a warrior or commander. Such features are, however, not met with in the representations of the god in south India. Several of the south Indian Āgamas provide the god with a *naravāhana* as in the north Indian figures of the god.

1. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 47.

2. Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., *Iconography of Southern India*, p. 108.

NĀGA

THE Nāgas have had played a significant role in the history of Indian art and religion since very early times. As early as the 3rd millennium B.C. the appearance of their effigies on the seals from Harappa and Mohenjodaro, the two chief centres of the early Indus civilization, attests to the antiquity of the Nāga cult. The wide distribution of the Nāga figures, belonging to different periods, throughout the length and breadth of the country, suggests the high esteem in which the Nāgas were held and also indicates the wide prevalence of the Nāga worship. They are being worshipped even these days, particularly on the day of 'Nāgapañchamī', falling on the fifth day of the ascending node of the moon in the month of Śrāvaṇa every year, when offerings of milk and parched grains (*lāvā*) are made to them. Bengal performs a special worship every year in honour of the snake-goddess Manasā. These performances of the present days may well be regarded as the fitting counterpart of the 'Sarpabali' of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, the performance of which annual rite lasted for the four rainy months.¹

The Nāgas, the offsprings of the poisonous snakes, are said to have born from Kaśyapa by Kadru, mentioned as the mother of all the snakes in the *Mahābhārata*.² In the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,³ it is Surasā who is said to be the mother of the snakes. These Nāgas as they dwell in the depths of the water⁴ and inhabit the underground are regarded as ruling over the nether world (*pātāla-loka*),⁵ known as the Nāga-loka. Bhogavatī is given as the name of the town wherein dwell free of care the sons of Surasā, the Nāgas manifold of shape and adornment. They are also mythical Nāga-folks, half-human and half-serpentine in form, who, after an evolution not yet traced, came to be exalted as semi-divine beings, having the power to assume any form they liked, human, animal or reptile. Their women (*nāga-kanyās*) are believed [to be possessed of bewitching beauty having weakness for human males whom they often married. The Nāgas are also regarded as the guar-

1. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 346.

2. *Mbh. Ādiparvan*, xvi.

3. *Rāmā. Sundarakāṇḍa*, i.137.

4. *Mbh. Ādi.*, xxi.6; xxv.4.

5. *Viṣṇu P.*, p. 204; *Padma P.*, iv canto (*Pātālakaṇḍa* is devoted to the description of the under-world).

Jātaka, vol. vi, p. 43 (translation).

dians of the jewels and the treasures. They are also known to be the originators of several dynasties of kings not only in India but also in Egypt.

Though it has been possible to trace the antiquity of the Nāga worship in India from the time when a very rich civilization flourished in the Indus Valley in the 3rd millennium B.C., it has some Vedic association as well. According to Banerjea,¹ the Ṛg-vedic Ahirbudhnya, 'the serpent of the Deep', may as well stand for an atmospheric deity. It is, however, in the later Vedas, like the *Yajur* and the *Atharva*, especially in the latter, that unmistakable earliest references to the Nāgas are met with, wherein four are often mentioned—Tiraśchirāji, Asita, Prḍāku and Kalmāś-grīva.² They with two others are associated with the six quarters as the six divine regents. The epic Takṣaka is also named at one place.³ The epic and the *Purāṇas* contain exhaustive lists of the Nāgas, the most common amongst them being Śeṣa, Vāsuki, Takṣaka, Karkoṭaka, Dhanañjaya, etc. Though not worshipped as principal divinities anywhere, yet they have been looked upon with awe and reverence and are believed to have performed some of the most impossible feats. In the *Bhagvadgītā*,⁴ both Śeṣa and Vāsuki have been mentioned side by side, Vāsuki evidently being considered as the first amongst the snakes and Śeṣa as the chief of the Nāgas. The *Amarakośa*⁵ gives both Śeṣa-Ananta and Vāsuki as the names of the Sarparājas. Śeṣa-Ananta is specially known as the bearer of the earth. It is again on the coils of this cosmic serpent that Viṣṇu reposes in the midst of the waters of the ocean. The world-serpent Śeṣa is also associated with the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu as the one supporting one of the feet of the Lord while rising from waters.⁶ When the Ocean of Milk was churned, it was Vāsuki who was utilized as the big rope wound round the mount Mandāra serving as the churner. Takṣaka, the great king of the reptiles, resides in the nether world where the snakes guard the gateway. Karkoṭaka, noted for his deadly poison, is another of that race. The Nāgas also occupy an honoured place on the person of Śiva who uses them as his ornaments.

Buddhism also seems to have early formed an alliance with the popular cult of the soil. With the Buddhists, the Nāgas became peculiarly sacred owing obviously to their ultimate association with several important events of the life of the Buddha. Nāga Elāpattra eagerly awaited the appearance of the Buddha in the world. Again two Nāgas, Nanda and Upananda, gave the infant Buddha a miraculous bath immediately after his birth.⁷ It was again a Nāga, named Muchalinda, who offered protection to the Buddha from incessant rains for over a week by extending his broad

1. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

3. *AV*, VIII, 10, 29.

4. *Bhagvadgītā*, X.28-29.

5. Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 192, f.n. 2.

6. *EHI*, I, i, p. 128 f.

7. *Lalitavistara* (Foucaux), i, pp. 78 and 85; *Buddhacharita*, i, 27, 35 and 38.

hood over him after his enlightenment at Bodhgayā.¹ The praises of the Buddha were sung by the great Nāgarāja Kālikā with joined hands while the Nāginis offered flowers, incense, and perfumes.² By the teaching of the Buddha, the Nāga Apālāla was subdued who gave up his wicked designs against the people of the Śubhvastu valley.³

In Jainism also Nāga appears to have played no mean role. The twenty-third Tīrthamkara Pārśvanātha is distinguished by a canopy of Nāga-hood.

The great importance of the Nāgas, both in the Brahmanism and the Buddhism, is amply reflected in the literary works and the plastic art of the country. Literary works, including technical works on iconography, portray the Nāgas sometimes as a mere animal, sometimes as a human being, but generally both the human and the animal properties strangely blended. In the *Mahābhārata*,⁴ the Nāgas, said to be numbering in thousands and residing in Bhogavati, are described as all strong and fierce by nature, marked with jewels, *svastikas* and wheels, and wearing the auspicious emblem of the water-jar (*kamaṇḍalu*); some of them having a thousand heads and others five hundred; some having a hundred heads and others three hundred; some having twice five heads and others seven faced. With the huge coils of their large bodies, they are conceived as encompassing even a mountain. These many thousands, myriads and millions of Nāgas all belong to one race. But plastic art for obvious reasons abstained from visualising such extravagant numbers of the snake hoods. It is, however, in later works that the iconographic types of the Nāga figures are described which were given visual forms. The *Māyāsamgraha*,⁵ after mentioning the characteristic colours and other peculiarities of some of the famous Nāgas (Takṣaka, Karkoṭaka, Padma, Mahāpadma, Śaṅkhaṇḍa and Kulika), gives some of the common traits of the iconographic types. As such, the Nāgas have two tongues and arms, seven hoods with jewels on them; they hold rosary beads (*akṣamālā*) in their hands and are endowed with curling tails, their wives and children bearing either one or three hoods.

The 17th century text of *Śilparatna*⁶ characterises the Nāga figures as being human in shape from navel upwards, their lower part being serpentine in form; they have encircling hoods over their heads—the hoods may be one, three, five, seven, or nine (i.e. in odd numbers); they should have two tongues and should hold a sword and a shield in their hands. The *Matsya Purāṇa*⁷ also endows the Nāga figures with similar attributes, save that it is silent with regard to the number of the snake-hoods over the head.

1. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 182.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-71.

3. Julien's *Hwen Thsang*, II, 134.

4. *Mbh.*, *Udyogaparvan*, xcvi-cv.

5. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 347.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 347-48; Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, pp. 556-57.

7. *Matsya P.*, ch. 262.48-49.

These works evidently describe the Nāga figures as hybrid in form, half-human and half-serpentine. The anthropomorphic form of the Nāga figures has also been described in certain texts. The *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*,¹ which purports to describe the Nāgadevas, instead of the Nāgas in general, mentions that the image of the deity should be endowed with three eyes, four arms, beautiful countenance, red colour, *karaṇḍa mukuta*, *padma-pīṭha* and a five-headed cobra over the head and displaying *abhaya* and *varada* poses. In a similar manner the *Viṣṇudharmottara*,² which seeks to portray the Nāga-Ananta, describes him as four-armed, endowed with several hoods, with the beautiful Earth goddess standing on his central hood, in the right hands of the deity being placed a lotus and a pestle and the left hands having a ploughshare and a conch-shell. These attributes in the hands of the deity evidently recall the iconographic features of Balarāma or Saṃkarṣaṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, rather identify the two. The reason is, however, not far to seek. Balarāma has been conceived as an incarnation of the cosmic serpent Śeṣa or Ananta,³ and as such his head is said to be wreathed with snakes and crowned with flowers.⁴ In fact in the list of thirty-nine incarnations of Viṣṇu furnished by the *Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā*,⁵ Ananta has been mentioned in place of Balarāma. According to Vogel,⁶ 'the mythological Baladeva developed from a Nāga lord.... Baladeva was an agricultural deity and so were the Nāgas, who were intimately associated with water.' Balarāma's association with the serpent Śeṣa has been amply emphasised in the sculptural representations. In the case of the Nāga figures from Mathurā, the right hand is generally raised above the head, the left holding a wine cup. Some of the Balarāma's figures also hold a wine cup in their hands and the iconographic texts also emphasise the inebriety of the god.⁷ Besides the figures of Balarāma have snake-hoods over the head indicating undoubted snake connections of the deity.

Some of the earliest representations of the Nāgas are to be found in the plastic art of the early Indus civilization. One of the representations can be seen at its best on a faience sealing where a seated deity is shown as being worshipped on either side by a kneeling man, and behind each of the worshippers makes its appearance a cobra, having its head raised and hood expanded⁸—the snakes evidently appearing as a protective deity, protecting the kneeling suppliants.⁹ This reptile appears also on a clay amulet before a low stool on which is probably an offering of milk, reminding the offering of milk on the *Nāgapañchamī* day in honour of the Nāga-devas. In these representations, the reptile is made to appear in true snake form.

1. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

2. *Viṣṇudh.*, III, ch. 65, vv. 1-8.

3. *Mbh.*, 13, 147, 54 f.

4. *Mbh.*, 3, 119, 4; 7, 11, 31; 13, 147, 54 f.

5. Banerjea in *JISOA*, XIV, 1946.

6. *ASIAR*, 1908-09, p. 2.

7. *Br. Sam.*, ch. 57, v. 36.

8. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 68, III, pls. CXVIII.11 and CXVI.29.

9. *JBRs*, vol. XLVI, 1960, p. 129.

Bhārhut, however, offers some very interesting and curious Nāga subjects. Even the Nāgaloka¹ itself has been represented at one place which is quite evident from the descriptive label attached to it. A highly ornamented triangular recess within a circular boss on one of the Bhārhut pillars contains a three-headed serpent (in reptile form) seated apparently on a lotus throne. There are two lions in the lower left quarter, while the whole of its right half is filled with a number of elephants (Nāgas) in various attitudes of eating and drinking.²

The polycephalous theriomorphic type is again met with in a relief upon a coping at Bhārhut where a five-headed snake with expanded hood is represented as resting on a wide ring of coils before an ascetic seated in front of hermitage. The scene, though not labelled, is perhaps an illustration of the *Mañikaṇṭha Jātaka*.

The central architrave of the eastern gateway of Sāñchi³ bears a well-known relief illustrating the worship of a sacred tree by forest animals including the Nāga. The Nāga figure has been most naturalistically treated as a five-headed snake along with his natural foe, the Garuḍa. On the same gateway⁴ appears the scene of the Kāśyapa brothers of Uruvilva. In this illustration also the Nāga is plainly shown in the semblance of a five-headed cobra, the presence of the Master being indicated by an empty throne. Vogel⁵ has aptly remarked that the Nāga in the semblance of a polycephalous serpent is of frequent occurrence on the earliest Buddhist monuments.

Side by side with the theriomorphic figures, the anthropomorphic forms of the Nāgas are also found. A typical interesting Nāga figure named Nāgarāja Chakravāka (*Chakravāko Nāga Rājo*) on a railing pillar which stood in the corner of the south gate at Bhārhut⁶ is found represented wholly in the form of a human being, with the addition of a canopy of five snake-hoods attached behind the head, besides a heavy turban. The figure shown standing to front on a high rock by the side of a lotus-lake in the attitude of calm repose with the hands crossed upon the breast (in *namaskāra mudrā*) has the upper part of the body bare; but from the hips downwards, it is clad in *dhotī*, the end of which reached the ground in a succession of very formal plaits. The Nāga chief is also wearing a number of jewellery like large earrings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, besides strings of pearls and beads of embroidered cloth bound round the hair.

1. Cunningham, A., *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 25, pl. XXVIII, fig. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27, pl. XLII, fig. 1.
3. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. XV.3; Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 49 f, fig. 26; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
4. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 143, pl. XXXII; Grunwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 62, fig 35; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 38, pl. V; Smith, *HFAIC*, fig. 47.
5. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
6. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 26, pl. XV.3.

Another Nāga figure of the anthropomorphic type is shown attended upon by two Nāginis or females of the serpent race.¹ Like Chakravāka this Nāga figure is also depicted completely in human form, distinguishable only by means of the canopy of the five snake-hoods over the head. But the Nāgini, standing on his either side, has been differently executed. She is a woman only up to the waist or rather up to the loins; the portion below ending in many a scaly fold of serpent coil (showing a combination of human and animal elements). Apparently quite nude, her dress consists of usual female ornaments like ear-rings, necklace and a girdle of several strings. She has her hood on the side towards the Nāga, holding a *chaurī*, the other resting on the upper serpent coil.

There is still another highly interesting representation of the Nāga figures on the famous Prasenjit pillar,² which, as the label informs, depicts 'the worship of the Buddha by the Nāgarāja Erāpatra'. In the scene, the Nāgarāja appears first as a polycephalous snake having five hoods, rising apparently from the ground, with a damsel standing upon his central hood (as required by the *Viṣṇudharmottara*). There in the right corner, he is shown advancing towards the left, with his hands joined in *namaskāra mudrā*, accompanied by two Nāginis. In the second appearance only the upper parts of the Nāgarāja and the Nāginis are shown, but they are in human forms with the snake-hoods over their heads, the two females having one hood each as required by the *Māyāsamgraha*. Finally the Nāgarāja is seen alone in the left corner kneeling down and paying homage to the Buddha symbolised by the Bo-tree with the *vajrāsana* beneath it. In the last representation, the Nāga doing obeisance is in complete human form, with a five-headed snake-canopy over his head. Cunningham has aptly remarked: 'In the Bhārhut sculptures, the Nāgarājas are certainly represented in complete human forms, and are only distinguishable from men by the canopy of snake-hoods over their heads. Nāginis are invariably represented as only half human and that they are always naked. Sometimes the lower half of the figure is not represented at all, but is concealed behind an altar or platform, from which it seems to rise. This was a very common device with the Buddhist sculptors, which is particularly noticeable in the semi-Greek bas-reliefs from Yusufzai district, as well as in the Buddhist sculptures.'

Evidence, however, of a somewhat different conception is not wanting. Amongst the Sāñchī sculptures,³ two reliefs representing the Nāgarāja Muchalinda are shown sheltering the Buddha. In each case the Nāga is seated before a tree attended by two Nāginis, all of whom have a single-headed snake-hood at the back of their head.⁴ It is curious that in one of these two reliefs, a female is shown with

1. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 26.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 27, pl. XIV.

3. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. XXIV, figs. 1 and 2.

4. *Ibid.*

her back turned towards the spectator, in which a complete snake appears to hang down from her back.

In the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, which flourished in the early centuries of the christian era, a distinct predilection for the Nāga of human form is observed. But at the same time the theriomorphic form of the Nāga figures is also met with. In the famous scene of the fire-splitting dragon of Uruvilva tamed by the Buddha (of which numerous replicas exist in the Gandhāra art), the Nāga is invariably shown in true reptile form.¹ Again, the Peshawar Museum has a bas-relief from Sahri-Bahlol,² which, according to Foucher, represents the Nāgarāja Erāpatra visiting the Buddha in the Deer Park near Benares. In this scene also the Nāga king appears as a five-headed snake in front of a seat on which the Buddha sits in the midst of the members of his congregation.

For the rest, however, in the numerous scenes relating to the conversion of the Nāgas, these spirits of the waters are always portrayed in human form.³ Usually they are shown issuing half-way from a fountain-enclosure, the Nāga-king wearing a multiplex snake-crest, whilst his consort having a single snake as an emblem. It is curious that in some cases where they are seen in profile, they clearly wear a complete snake attached, so it seems, to their head-dress, curling down their back.⁴ The same peculiarity has already been observed in a bas-relief at Sāñchī.

The submission of the Nāga king Apalāla seems to have been a favourite theme in the Gandhāra school. In the representations,⁵ the Nāga king is shown either standing at Buddha's side or kneeling before him or rising from the waters of which he is supposed to be the presiding deity. In most cases, he as well as his female companions raise their hands joined in token of reverence to the Buddha. One of the finest reliefs, much better preserved and more elaborately carved, excavated from Loriyan Tangai,⁶ now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which represents the story of Apalāla, depicts the Nāga king and his two wives as coming out of water with their hands joined reverentially.

Mention may also be made of a particularly striking piece of sculpture in the Peshawar Museum which was found at Rustam. It represents in all seven figures of Nāgas and Nāginis, all distinguished by their serpent hoods, and all bearing what seems to be umbrellas. Those at the bottom of the group rise, as usual, only half out of the water in which they were supposed to dwell. This itself is a common

1. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 40, pl. IX, b.

2. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 105, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 5; Foucher, A., *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, II, fig. 317.

3. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

6. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, fig. 58; Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. IX (a).

characteristic of such figures (the snaky terminal of the body being in this way concealed). ~ But that a precisely similar concealment for the bodies of those above should have been effected by the judicious utilization of the umbrella-motifs, whose introduction must be due to the legend which the whole was meant to portray, is very striking, and reflects considerable credit on the ingenuity of the artists.

One of the favourite subjects of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra refers to the hereditary feud between the Nāgas and the Garuḍa. The best known specimen from Sanghao¹ showing a Nāgini in the clutches of the giant bird appears to be an Indian adaptation of a masterpiece of Lochares, representing Ganymede carried off by the eagle of Zeus. In some cases, a group of several Nāgas is shown as being assailed by the Garuḍa, some being seized and others falling prostrate in confusion. It is to be noted that in all these sculptures, the Nāgas have the appearance of a human being. The plaques representing this subject of which several specimens are known to exist, must once have formed part of the head-dress of statuettes in royal attire. The Lahore Museum² has a Bodhisattva head in which this decorative member has been partially preserved. It is interesting that the device in question, employed in exactly the same fashion, occurs also on a colossal Bodhisattva head from Kankālī Tīlā near Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum.³ It seems highly probable that plaques of this kind, wrought in precious metal, were actually worn by persons of rank, perhaps not merely as ornaments, but also as a prophylactic against snake-bite. As noticed above, the figure of Garuḍa is also found introduced in bracelets. The Nāga figures in human form have neither snake-hoods over their head nor have they been distinguished by any other attribute. They can simply be recognised as such from the circumstantial evidences of their being attacked by the Garuḍa.

The regions round Mathurā, now so closely associated with the cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, once had been a great centre of Nāga worship. An inscription in the Lucknow Museum⁴ refers to a local serpent deity Dadhikarṇa by name, who appears to have had his own shrine. A very interesting image of Nāga which hails from Chhargaoon is now preserved in the Mathurā Museum.⁵ It is a life-size statue of great value which represents the Nāga in a highly spirited attitude. An inscription at its back records that it was set up at a water tank in the fortieth year of the Kuṣāṇa era during the reign of Huviṣka. In this figure, the Nāga is shown standing

1. Grunwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff, fig. 61; Smith, *HFAIC*, pp. 117 ff, figs. 70 and 70a; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 41, pl. XV, a, b.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
4. *EI*, vol. I, p. 390.
5. *ASIAR*, 1908-09, p. 160, pl. LIII; Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, p. 48, pl. XLI, b; Codrington, *Ancient India*; Bachhofer, L., *Early Indian Sculpture*, pl. 97; Smith, *HFAIC*, fig. 84 (16B).

with his right hand raised above his head as if to strike. Such an attitude of Nāga figure is not without significance. Water being an essential element of the snakes, as observed by Vogel, the raised hand of the Nāga might indicate him in an endeavour to bring down the shower of real rain water. The left hand which is broken probably held a cup in front of the shoulder. The head is surrounded by snake-headed hood, which assumes the appearance of a round nimbus like around the head of the deity. As in the most Nāga images from Mathurā, here as well, the hood is not conceived as an excrescence springing from the back of the sculpture. The figure is clad in a *dhotī* and a scarf tied round the loins, the arrangement of which is typically Kuṣāṇa.

Another Nāga image, from Kukargām in the Sa'adabad Pargana,¹ is also much similar to the one just described; the lower portion, however, being lost. It represents a singularly graceful figure of a youth with a canopy of seven cobra-heads, holding his right hand aloft his head and the left grasping a cup similar in shape to that seen on the Palikhera block, but apparently without the carved handle. A garland of wild flowers is slung round his shoulders and he wears also an elaborate head-gear, besides several ornaments. Growse² identified it with Balarāma and the presence of the *vanamālā* lends support to it. Vogel³ is, however, disposed to take it only a Nāga figure of the Kuṣāṇa period. Another Nāga figure from Mathurā, now in the Musée Guimet,⁴ is unfortunately without head and arms; it has also its dress and ornaments similar to the Chhargaoon and Kukargām Nāga figures. The position of the body and the right shoulder indicates that the right arm was raised. The left arm, though broken, seems to have held a vessel in front of the chest. This quite characteristic image is not only a thing of beauty, but also of particular interest.

A stone slab hailing from Bhadar and deposited in the Mathurā Museum⁵ depicts a Nāga figure standing between two Nāginis, all the three having their right hands held in *abhaya mudrā* and carrying an *amṛta ghaṭa* in their left. There is a group of twelve figurines including five males, five females and two children, who may be taken to be the worshippers. An inscription below records the dedication of the sculpture in the eighth year of the reign of Kaniṣka.⁶ Another slab in the Mathurā Museum⁷ showing three standing figures in relief though much worn out represents a Nāgini standing between two Āyudha-puruṣas. The upper portion of

1. ASIAR, 1908-09, p. 161, pl. LIV, b; Growse, *Mathura*, p. 169; JASB, XLIV, 1875, pt. i, p. 815; Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, p. 49, pl. XLI, c.
2. Growse, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
3. ASIAR, 1908-09, p. 161.
4. JISOA, III, No. 1, 1935, pp. 33-35, pl. V.
5. Agrawala, *Cat. of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 103.
6. EI, XVIII, p. 10 and also illustration.
7. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

the Nāgini's body is nude and the lower broken. Her left hand draped with a scarf rests on her hip and holds a vessel. Her right hand is raised to the shoulder. The two attendant figures, somewhat larger in size than the principal one, hold a spear in their left hands and raise their right hands like the Nāgini to their shoulders. The sculpture evidently represents a Nāgini queen guarded by two soldiers.

These Nāga figures and various others from the Mathurā region evidently fall under two distinct classes, some of them bearing no inscriptions, while others being described merely as 'Bhagava Nāga or Svāmi Nāga'. There is, however, only one statuette of a Nāga of the usual type, with the upper portion of the head together with the snake hoods broken off, which bears the personal name of the Nāga for it has on its base the name clearly inscribed as 'Dadhikarṇa'¹ and is thus invested with unique importance. Like others of the type it stands also in *abhaya mudrā* holding an *amṛta ghaṭa* in the left hand, the coils of the snake being shown on both the sides of the sculpture. A temple of Dadhikarṇa Nāga, as referred to earlier, existed at the site of Huviṣka's monastery at Jamalpur, the remains of which were excavated in 1860.

Such a mode of rendering the Nāga in the Mathurā school during the Kuṣāṇa period continued to be in vogue during the later phases of the Indo-Buddhist art. A very fine example of a seated Nāga from Nālandā² represents him as holding a rosary in his right hand and a vessel in the left, seated in an easy posture on the coils of a snake whose windings are also visible on both the sides of the figure, while a grand hood of seven cobra heads forms a canopy overshadowing him. This image has tentatively been identified to be that of the Buddhist saint Nāgārjuna, the master of the Mahāyāna. The sculpture, however, presents a type of Nāga image peculiar to the mediaeval art of India although it would be difficult to point out another specimen of equal artistic merit.

Another Nāga figure from Bhita in the Allahabad Museum carved out of buff coloured sandstone belongs to the 9th century A. D.³ The Nāga holds an *akṣamālā* (rosary) in his upraised right hand and apparently a fruit in the left hand. He wears an *upavīta*, armlets, necklace and ear-rings. The hair is done in a bun at the top of the head and falls in rows of curls on the shoulders. The top portion of stela is carved as seven hoods of a serpent, arranged in a manner as if three on each side are placed one above the other with the serpent faces facing towards the central figure forming a canopy over the head of the god.

1. Agrawala, *Cat. of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 105; *ASIAR*, 1924-25, p. 149, pl. XI, a.
2. *Annual Report ASI, Eastern (now Central) Circle*, 1919-20, p. 38, pl. III, a; *ASIAR*, 1919-20, pt. i, p. 29, pl. XX, b; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 43, pl. XIV.
3. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 107, pl. XCIV.258.

The same highly artistic treatment of the Nāga figures is met with in the art of the Gupta period. Amongst the several representations of the Nāga figures, all the three types, in the anthropomorphic form canopied by a hood of several serpent heads, in the hybrid form having the upper part human and the lower part purely serpentine, and in the animal shape, are found.

Excavations of the mound at Rājagṛha revealed the remains of a curious cylindrical structure which was originally a shrine dedicated to the worship of Maṇi Nāga. It contained the well-preserved figures out of which five represented Nāgas and one a Nāgini.¹ All the figures have been found portrayed as human beings, standing, two-armed, held in different positions and provided with the usual snake hoods, varying in number from five to one. On stylistic ground, these Nāga figures have been assigned to the Gupta period.

Amongst the hybrid type combining both the human and the animal elements mention may be made of the fine example of the Nāga figure occurring in a bas-relief on the Daśavatāra Temple at Deogarh² which depicts 'the Deliverance of the Lord of Elephants' (Gaṇḍamokṣa). According to the legend, the aquatic monster from whose grasp the elephant is freed by Viṣṇu is described as a crocodile; but here in the relief it clearly assumes the shape of a Nāga, combining the human figure with the serpent form and holding the feet of the elephant caught in the coils of the snake-tail. The Nāga is provided with the seven-fold snake hood and his hands are folded in adoration. He is accompanied by a Nāgini with the usual hood of similar appearance in the same posture but much smaller in size. Evidently they are shown as worshipping the four-armed Viṣṇu (Fig. 10).

In sculptural representations, the hybrid form of the Nāga—the cosmic serpent Śeṣa—appears also in association with the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. According to the iconographic works, it is the serpent Śeṣa who supports one of the feet of the great Boar while rising from waters.³ One of the monumental rock sculptures belonging to the Gupta period representing this incarnation occurs at Udayagiri in Madhya Pradesh.⁴ The colossal figure of the boar-headed god, carrying the Earth-goddess on his left shoulder, is shown treading with his left foot on the coils of the serpent Śeṣa. The upper portion of the Nāga consists of a human figure, with the two hands joined in the attitude of reverence, surrounded by a large canopy of hood made of no less than thirteen snake-hoods, seven in the front and six in the intervals behind. Such features are also noticeable in the Varāha image of the Pāla period, presently housed in the Patna Museum (Fig. 11).

1. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, pp. 102 ff, pls. XXXIX-XL; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 219, pl. XXIV.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *ASR*, X, p. 107; Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 252.

3. Rao, *EHI*, I, pp. 128 ff.

4. *ASR*, X, pp. 48 f, pl. XVIII; Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 216-17; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Usually the Boar incarnation is represented as a boar-headed human figure, but there are a few instances in which he is portrayed entirely in animal form. One of the best examples of this type includes the colossal stone Boar from Eran in the Sagar district (M.P.), which was fashioned in the first regnal year of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa. A similar figure but much smaller in size from Dudhai (Jhānsī district), now in the Lucknow Museum,¹ shows the serpent Śeṣa between the feet of the divine Boar with the hands joined in adoration. Thus in plastic representation of the Boar incarnation, serpent Śeṣa is rarely missing. His usual appearance in such sculptures is that of a snake combined with the upper half of a human figure, provided with the usual Nāga-hood, the two hands joined in the *añjali* pose.

In true reptile form, the cosmic serpent Śeṣa appears as serving the couch for Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu reclining on Śeṣa (*Śeṣa-sāyin* Viṣṇu) forms a favourite subject of the plastic art. He is shown resting on the couch formed of the windings of the Nāga whose polycephalous hood forms a canopy over the god's head. A remarkable instance depicting this theme is the beautiful relief in the Gupta temple at Deogarh.² The hood of the serpent Śeṣa on the coils of which the god reclines is composed of no less than seven snake-heads, each provided with the legendary jewel. Lakṣmī is shown in the act of caressing her husband's right leg. A Pāla sculpture embedded in the Viṣṇupada temple compound, depicting the same theme, represents the Nāga on which Viṣṇu reclines with five snake-heads.

Nāga figures appear in large numbers as decorative motifs on the door frames and the walls of the temples of the mediaeval period belonging to different parts of northern India. Such figures occurring on the door frames usually occupy the bottom of the jambs, one on each side. The door frames from the Vaiṣṇava shrine at Parbatīyā in Assam,³ at the Rajshahi Museum from Raotal,⁴ at Dinajpur brought from Bangarh,⁵ at Panduā in the Maldā district in North Bengal,⁶ at the Patna Museum⁷ from Lalitagiri,⁸ and in the Śīśīreśvara temple at Bhubaneśwar in Orissa⁹ are some out of many which bear the Nāga figures. In all these door frames, the figures of the Nāgas depicted as human beings are distinguished by the canopy of serpent-hoods. Nāga figures on the door frames from Bengal and Assam have all their hands folded in the attitude of obeisance; but on those from Orissa, they are seen holding foliated vases (*pūrṇa-ghaṭas*). Numerous Nāga figures found on the walls of the Orissan temples resolve into two distinct types. They are, however, rare in earlier temples.¹⁰ In the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, they are conspicuous by their

1. *MAI-1*, pp. 12 f, pl. III.

2. *MAI-70*, p. 14, pl. X, b; Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 40.

3. *ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 119.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

7. Shere, *Guide to the Archl. Section, Patna Museum*, p. 13.

8. Panigrahi, K.C., *Archl. Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 116.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

absence.¹ Two Nāga figures are, however, found in the two small temples standing in the compound of the Megheśvara temple² and two others kept in the *jagamohana* of the Vaitāl Deul.³ The peculiarity to be noted in these representations is that the Nāgas have been portrayed as human beings with the canopies of serpent hoods over their heads, and not as half human and half serpent.⁴ Like the figures appearing on the door frames of the Śiśireśvara temple, they all hold foliated vases.⁵ In their late representations, noticed for the first time in the Mukteśvara temple, they appear as half-human beings and half-serpentine, with canopies of serpent hoods over their heads.⁶ They, however, hold various objects in their hands, sometimes foliated vases (as in the Rājarānī and the Megheśvara temples), sometimes conch-shells and at times garlands (in the Rājarānī temple) or flywhisks held in one or both the hands.⁷ The long tails of their lower bodies which are serpentine are found twisted round the lower parts of the columns.⁸ They are always represented in pairs, in later temples, with their female counterparts.⁹ No Nāgini figures, however, can be seen in earlier temples. Since their first representation in the Mukteśvara temple, the Nāgas and the Nāginis continued to appear in all the important later temples with similar attributes and with the same details of representation. The Indian Museum at Calcutta¹⁰ possesses two representations of the Nāga figures in which both Nāga and Nāgini are shown embracing each other with their lower serpentine parts coiled round each other. About a dozen of Nāga and Nāgini figures, somewhat better preserved, found from the ruins of Khitching,¹¹ have only their upper parts, their lower parts being lost. Above the head of each is a hood of seven serpent heads. The Nāga figures hold a garland and the Nāginis are portrayed as playing on musical instruments. A bust of the Nāga figure, also from Khitching,¹² shows a curled lock of hair falling on either side, adding greatly to the grace of the figure. This gesture is, however, missing in any other Nāga image recovered from the region so far. There are also several Nāga pilasters in the Bhubaneśvara temples in which a Nāga or a Nāgini is seen with the coils entwined round the pilasters. In the temples at Khajurāho¹³ series of Nāgini figures are placed between the groups of projections, which are also shown in the posture of adoration with the two hands joined in worship and distinguished by the canopies of snake-hoods over their heads.¹⁴

1. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 116, fig. 8.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

10. Banerji, *EISMS*, p. 122, pl. LXV, a and c.

11. *ASIAR*, 1923-24, p. 87.

12. *ASIAR*, 1924-25, p. 113, pl. XXXV, c.

13. Gangoly, *The Art of the Chandelas*, p. 28.

14. *Ibid.*, pls. 7 and 23.

Thus a study of the Nāga figures belonging to the northern part of the country would show that typologically they can be placed under three broad divisions : (i) theriomorphic, (ii) anthropomorphic, and (iii) therio-anthropomorphic representations.

The theriomorphic type, fairly widespread in time and space, shows the Nāga figures exactly as snakes, having coils wound in different ways. The Nāga figures may be monocephalic or polycephalic, having three, five, seven or even more expanded hoods, always in odd numbers.

The second type (i.e. the anthropomorphic representations) clearly resolves into three distinct varieties. The first variety depicts the Nāgas as human beings having serpent hoods over the turbans or at the top of the heads. The hoods range from a single one to three, five, seven or even more in odd numbers. They appear to spring from the neck of the individuals or from their back, or they are simple decorations on the turbans (Fig. 12). This variety fairly widespread is commonly met with in the art of ancient India. The second variety exhibits human figures, possessed of canopies of snake-hoods, standing in front of the coils of the snakes; the coils being visible not only at the sides, but also from the back, from feet upward to the shoulders, from where polycephalic hoods are made to spring in the form of a halo (Fig. 13). This variety is rather rare, the earliest representations being confined to the Mathurā regions in which, as already noticed, 'the hood is not conceived as an excrescence springing from the back of the human frame; rather it forms part of a complete serpent whose coils are plainly visible both at the front and the back of the sculpture'.¹ The third variety includes those human figures which are identified as Nāgas from the circumstantial evidences of their being attacked by Garuḍa, their arch enemy. This variety is rather extremely rare to be met with mainly in the sculptures of the Gandhāra school.²

The third type of the Nāga figures is therio-anthropomorphic in representation, showing a combination of human being and animal elements, the upper part having the appearance of human beings provided with canopies of snake-hoods over their heads, and, the lower part, below the waist, that of snake coils wound in various ways. This hybrid type, which is rather very common, is known from several sites.

It would, however, be interesting to make a comparison of the north Indian Nāga images with the south Indian counterparts. The three distinct types of the Nāga images found in the northern part of the country are also met with in southern India. Anthropomorphic representations of the Nāgas which decorated the Amarāvati stūpa have snake-hoods over their heads, rather surrounding the heads in the

1. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

2. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. XCI, 1 and 2, etc.

nimbus-like manner; but the treatment is more graceful than what it is in Mathurā. Usually seven in number, the snake-heads are shown separated from each other and slightly curved so as to make a most artistic head-gear. The Nāga maidens are distinguished by a single snake issuing from behind their heads.

Naga figures in anthropomorphic form are also seen in association with the Gaja-Lakṣmī figure on the facade of Cave No. XIV at Ellorā.¹ They are distinguished by the canopies of snake-hoods behind their heads. They hold up treasure vases which are perhaps meant as tributes offered to the goddess of Good Fortune.

One of the finest specimens of the anthropomorphic type is undoubtedly furnished by the beautiful group at Ajantā in Cave No. XVII in which a Nāgarāja,² distinguished by a seven-fold snake-hood, is shown sitting in an easy pose accompanied by his consort, likewise seated and attended by a female holding a flywhisk.

Amongst the frescos of Ajantā, there are several representations of Nāgas. Cave No. II³ contains figures of each of the three types of the Nāgas—not only in the true animal shape and the anthropomorphic form canopied by a hood of serpent heads, but also the Nāga having the upper part human with the lower part from the hips downwards purely serpentine. A beautiful instance of the last mentioned type is the well-known group of a Nāga and a Nāgī desporting themselves in the waves, from a wall painting in the same cave.

In the case of the rock carving of Māmāllapuram, belonging to the Pallava art of the 7th century A.D., representing the Descent of the Ganges,⁴ the hybrid type occurs side by side with the anthropomorphic type. Amongst the numerous figures are found a Nāga couple shown in their usual human form and wearing a snake-hood. More important are the Nāga and the Nāgini, excellent specimens of the iconographic type in which the man and the reptile are blended into a fantastic being of life-like appearance. Both carry a hood, which in the case of the male consists of no less than seven cobra heads, whereas the female has only a three-fold hood. In the Pallava art, the hybrid type occurs also independently (Fig. 14). As usual, in the Anantaśāyin image at Mahābalipuram,⁵ Viṣṇu is made to lie on the coils of the Śeṣa-nāga in true serpent form.

Snake-slabs or Nāga-kals are found in large numbers in south India,⁶ portraying the figures of the Nāgas on small stone slabs. The worship of the Nāgas is believed

1. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, pl. CX; Gangoly, *The Art of the Rashtrakutas*, pl. 24.

2. Havell, *The Ideals of Indian Art*, pp. 164 ff, pl. XXIV; Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44, pl. frontispiece.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

4. Havell, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX.

5. Goswami, A., *Indian Temple Sculpture*, pl. 19; Frederic, L., *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, fig. 172 (cf. Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu from Aihole, *ibid.*, fig. 189).

6. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 270 ff.

by the southerners to bestow offsprings to the childless women. The Nāga-kals show a considerable variety of pattern.¹ The simplest and commonest type exhibits a single cobra standing as it were on the tip of its tail and curling upward with expanded hood. Sometimes the Nāga is a faithful effigy of the natural serpent, but very often, presumably to emphasise the divine character, he is made polycephalous, the number of the heads varying between three, five and seven, but having a preference for five—always uneven. In some specimens a miniature *līṅga*, evidently meant as a symbol of procreation, is carved on the expanded hood; or an umbrella, an emblem of royalty, may be seen on the Nāgarāja. The snakes are either single or many hooded, and several of the latter have a little human figure seated on the coils and overshadowed by the serpent's hood. The figure is said to represent Kṛṣṇa;² but it may have reference to the wish for offspring which generally prompts the devotees of the Nāga to erect these stones.

A somewhat more elaborate type of the Nāga-kals shows a pair of cobras intertwined in caduceus fashion,³ apparently in the act of copulation. Usually both the snakes are monocephalous in such cases. They are sometimes decorated with legendary jewels over their heads, very clearly marked in the snake facing.

In some cases, the intertwined snakes are very artistically treated; here only one of the two cobras, presumably the male, is shown with expanded hood. The uppermost field, immediately beneath the snakes' heads, sometimes contains a *līṅga*.⁴

In some snake-stones, the serpent deity appears as a hybrid being, the upper-half human and the lower-half serpentine. This hybrid is a female and in all probability represents the snake-goddess who in south India is known by the name of Mudama. Over her head, she wears the usual hood formed of three, five or seven snake-heads. She holds both her hands joined in front of her breast, and, in each arm she has a baby snake; sometimes two more accompanying her and standing on her either side.⁵

Thus the south Indian representations of the Nāga figures do not differ basically much from the north Indian prototypes. All the three north Indian Nāga types are met with in south India, differing only in ornamentation and elaboration.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 271, pl. XXIX.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

REVANTA

REVANTA, comparatively not so important a deity, is mentioned in the *Purāṇas* as the son of Sūrya (Vivasvant).¹ There is an interesting story connected with the origin of this son of Sūrya. Revanta was born from Sureṇu when the latter was in the form of a mare. According to the Paurāṇic works, Sureṇu (Suranyu), the daughter of Viśvakarmā, who was married to Sūrya, bore him three children, Yama and Manu, the two sons, and Yamī (Yamunā), the only daughter. In the company of her husband, she always felt oppressed by his excessive heat and glory that she fled away, assumed the shape of a mare to make sure of her escape, and wandered in the colder regions of the North. But before her departure, she left Chhāyā (shadow or Savarṇa, 'of like character') in her place, who was like Sureṇu in appearance. Before long, when Sūrya could find out the deception practised upon him, he took the form of a horse and followed her to enjoy her society. Gaining her favours, he begot with her three more sons, the twin Aśvins, the celestial physicians, and Revanta, the lord of horses and horsemen. Now, it may be pointed out that while the Vedic literature and the *Mahābhārata* describe the marriage of Sūrya with Sureṇu (Samajñā) and their offsprings, Yama, Yamī, Manu and the two Aśvins, they are silent with regard to Revanta. Non-incorporation of Revanta as the son of Sūrya in the earlier works may naturally suggest that the deity is a fabrication of the later period.

The worship of Revanta seems to have been much in vogue in eastern India. Some of the *Purāṇas* describe in detail the worship of this deity and indicate that he was worshipped annually in the autumn by the kings and the generals of armies in the month of Aśvin, preparatory to a campaign. This was a sort of military and religious ceremony.² His worship was also enjoined on those who had riches and possessed horses.³ Probably when the horses became the most important element of war in the first few centuries of the christian era, the worship of Revanta became popular. It may, however, be noted that Gopinatha Rao has not referred to the images of this deity in his monumental work on Hindu iconography. His complete

1. *Viṣṇu P.*, III. 2, 6 and 7; *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, LXXVIII.23 and CVIII.11; *Bhaviṣya P.*, LXXIX.

2. *Kālikā P.*, ch. 80.

3. Under the word 'tithyādaittvaṃ', Śabdakalpadrūma quotes a text 'Puṇyāḥ' (Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 176).

silence as to Revanta's images may be attributed to the absence of any sculptural representation of the deity in the southern part of the country.¹ It is not easy to find an explanation of the total absence of Revanta's representation in southern India.

Now, certain of the mediaeval sculptures of Revanta hailing from Bihar and Bengal were mistaken for those of Kalki, the tenth and last incarnation of Viṣṇu. It was, however, to the credit of Bidyavinoda who suggested for the first time that the supposed Kalki figures in the Indian Museum were actually the representations of Revanta,² the son of Sūrya, the clue to their correct identity being furnished by a single line in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*,³ according to which Revanta should be depicted as riding on horse-back and accompanied by a party engaged in the sport of hunting. The *Paurāṇic* descriptions representing both Kalki and Revanta as equestrian deities seem to have been responsible to a greater degree for creating confusion leading to the mistaken identification of the latter with the former. Bidyavinoda⁴ pointed out the association of Revanta with a hunting party as an iconographic feature which unequivocally distinguishes his image from that of Kalki. Distinguishing the figure of Kalki from that of Revanta, Bhattacharya⁵ has remarked that the figure of Revanta 'resembles the former (i.e. Kalki) in appearance except that it is followed by dogs, musicians, and other attendants'. Banerjea⁶ also suggests that 'in images of Revanta, we find dogs in a hunting scene on the pedestal'. It may, however, be noted that in the *Agni Purāṇa* Revanta is called only a 'horseman', whereas in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*⁷ he is simply mentioned to be 'like Sūrya, on the back of a horse'. Some additional features are, however, reckoned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*⁸: 'From the end of the ejaculation sprang Revanta, riding a horse, his body protected by armour, with a sword and a bow in his hands, and provided with arrows and quiver'. Almost a similar description of Revanta is recorded in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*⁹ with the only difference that a whip is substituted for bow in one of the hands. In this work, Revanta has been described as having two arms with his body shining in armour, with a whip in his left hand and a sword in the right. He should be placed on a white horse and worshipped with the same rites as used in the worship of the Sun-god. His hair should be restrained or covered by an apparel (probably standing

1. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 442.

2. *JPASB*, V, 1909, pp. 391-92, pl. XXX.

3. *Bṛ. Saṃ.*, ch. 57, v. 56: *Revanta-śvārudho-mṛgayā-kṛṇḍādi-parivārah*.

4. *JPASB*, V, 1909, p. 392.

5. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Indian Images*, I, p. 15.

6. Banerji, R.D., *EISMS*, p. 123.

7. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Bk. III, ch. 70, v. 5. Cf. *Bhaviṣya P.*, ch. 79, v. 82, and *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*, *Vratākhaṇḍa*, p. 137.

8. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, chap. LXXVIII.22: *retasoante cha revantaḥ khaḍgī charmī tanutradhṛka aśvārūdhō smṛt kūto vā, a tura samanvītaḥ*. In verse 11 of chap. 108, instead of *charmī* the word *dhanvī* occurs.

9. *Kālikā P.*, ch. 80.

for a *pugree*). A study of the above texts clearly indicates that the presence of a party of huntsmen in the relief is not the sole criterion for identifying a horse-riding figure as Revanta; rather there is sufficient textual evidence to suggest that he may be unaccompanied by the hunting party, for none of the foregoing texts makes an exclusive declaration for Revanta being followed by huntsmen. They simply suggest that Revanta should be sculptured like his father, Sūrya, though no specific feature distinguishing Revanta from Sūrya is mentioned in them. However, certain attributes like top-boots and armour, common to both Sūrya and Revanta, may be considered as objects for identifying Revanta, particularly when he is portrayed simply as a horse-riding figure without the hunting party; and these features may also be taken as distinguishing him from Kalki, the tenth and last incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Sculptural representations of Revanta belonging to the Gupta and the mediaeval periods, found in the eastern provinces, are distributed in different museums of Bengal, Bihar, and U.P. and also carved on the granite surface of the Jahāṅgīra hill at Sultanganj (Bhāgalpur district, Bihar). There are four such sculptures of the deity from Bihar¹ and one from Bangladesh² in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, one in the Dacca Museum,³ one in the Rājshāhi Museum,⁴ one in the Sārnāth Museum,⁵ and also the one discovered at Nālandā.⁶ The image described by Gangoly as an image of the Sun god on horse-back appears from the description to be that of Revanta.⁷ Martin has also illustrated an image of this deity.⁸ Besides there is an image of Revanta carved on the rock at Sultanganj.⁹ Images of Revanta are also known from Rajasthan¹⁰ and Madhya Pradesh.¹¹

The rounded black stone stela from Nālandā¹² depicts Revanta as mounted on a fully caparisoned horse to the right with a drinking bowl in his slightly upraised right hand; the left hand, not visible, apparently holding the reins of the horse. In this well preserved relief of early mediaeval period, a miniature figure of an attendant is seen holding a parasol over the head of the deity. Besides, there are three

1. Bloch, *Suppl. Cat. of the Archl. Collection in the Indian Museum at Calcutta*, p. 85, nos. 3621, 3775-77.

2. *5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien*, p. 167, no. 234.

3. Bhattasali, N.K., *IBSDM*, p. 177, pl. LXII, a; Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 443; *HBR*, I, p. 459.

4. *A Cat. of the Archl. Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi*, p. 26; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 442, pl. XXIX.2; *HBR*, I, pp. 458-59, pl. XVI.42; Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 350.

5. Banerji, *EISMS*, p. 123.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 123, pl. LXV, e; *JPASB* (NS), V, pp. 392-93.

7. Gangoly, M.M., *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 448.

8. Martin, *Eastern India*, I, p. 99, pl. XVI, no. 7.

9. *JBR*, XLVII, p. 212 and the plate.

10. Sharma, B.N., *The Researcher*, XII-XIII, pp. 19-24 and plates.

11. *MAI*, 23, pl. XLVI, fig. a.

12. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 123, pl. LXV, fig. e.

more attendant figures shown in other nooks of the stela. On the pedestal, in the left half, are two boars, and, in the right half, three miniature male figures playing on musical instruments, forming the retinue of the hunting party.

In a badly mutilated black stone image of this god discovered from an old tank at Baḍkāntā in the Tippera district, now preserved in the Dacca Museum,¹ Revanta is depicted practically in a manner similar to the Nālandā relief; but differing in certain minor details. Carved in profile, Revanta is represented as a young hunter in top-boots riding on the back of a horse. He holds the reins of the horse in his left hand; the right hand along with the right half of the body, hammered away, most probably held a drinking bowl, as suggested by Banerjea.² The horse, a cantering spirited animal, also badly injured, has a row of tinkler's string round one of its front legs. A male attendant, much damaged, seen at the back, is shown holding the staff (only its lower part preserved) of an umbrella held over the head of the deity. Below him is seen a man with a sword in his right hand. To his left stands a lady with a frolicsome child at her feet. To the left of Revanta, underneath the belly of the horse, an archer is seen who has shot an arrow which has struck a boar flying ahead. Another, a small boar, is depicted in front of the wounded one, while a dog stands by the archer. Seven ladies can be seen in the front panel bearing flowers and fruits and water in a pitcher, obviously offering their prayers to the lord of the huntsmen. Below them, four male attendants are depicted, two of them bearing swords and the rest a club and a hawk in their hands. In short, the relief depicts Revanta riding a horse with a drinking bowl in his right hand³ and accompanied by a hunting party; nay even an archer has shot at a boar successfully and the wounded animal is fleeing away in a bid to save its life.

Similarly another rounded stela of the same material from Chañcharipāsa (Bangladesh), belonging to c. 11th century A.D., now under the possession of the Indian Museum,⁴ shows Revanta on horse-back who is out hunting accompanied by attendants; one of them holding a parasol over his head, others on pedestal, playing on musical instruments. Martin has also illustrated a figure of Revanta in '*Eastern India*'⁵ which he describes as a prince riding out on the back of a horse to hunt the antelope. He is accompanied by archers, musicians, targeters, women, dogs, etc. All these figures and several others from Bihar in the Indian Museum

1. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 177, pl. LXII, a (no. 3.A.iii.b/1); *HBR*, I, p. 459; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 443. '*Mrgayā* (hunting) is a royal sport (*vyasana*) in which revelries were a common feature'.

4. *5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien*, p. 167, no. 237.

5. Martin, *Eastern India*, I, p. 99, pl. XVI, no. 7.

obviously seem to have followed the iconographic prescriptions of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*¹ with regard to the representations of the deity, wherein the process of hunting has been successfully delineated.

Amongst the rock sculptures carved on the granite surface of the Jahāṅgīra hill at Sultanganj may be noticed a figure of Revanta² erroneously identified with Kalki by Cunningham.³ Although heavily weathered away, essential details of the figure are not effaced. Represented as sitting astride on the back of the horse, the two-armed god is shown wearing top-boots and a conical head-dress, with no less than six attendants, one of them behind the horse holding a parasol over the head of Revanta. The figure to the left of the umbrella-bearer who is carrying some indistinct object over his head is sculptured with a dog on his either side. Two of the attendant figures are blowing trumpets in front of the central figure. The attendant next to them, as it appears from the gesture of his hands, probably plays on a cymbal or beats a drum. The last figure in the row seems to be a water carrier. Thus the Sultanganj figure also depicts Revanta in the company of a hunting party. But unlike the Baḍkāmtā and the preceding images, the process of hunting is not shown in the Sultanganj sculpture. No archer is depicted as engaged in shooting at a boar. The attendant behind the umbrella-bearer seems to carry the body of the dead animal on his head, holding it in position by his upraised hands. The relief seems to depict the scene when the hunting game is already over and the party is ready to return back with the booty. Thus the figure is highly interesting for it presents the theme with a somewhat changed outlook, which no other sculptures have attempted at. Stylistically, the sculpture is marked for its elegance and simplicity of tone, brief and balanced in composition, and also, as supported by the palaeographic evidences, may reasonably be placed in the Gupta period and will thus be ranked as the earliest known plastic representation of the deity.

There is another sculpture hailing from Pacar in the Gaya district and presently housed in the Patna Museum, which represents Revanta as a horse-rider with a wine cup in his right hand and holding the reins of the horse by the left.⁴ An attendant behind the horse is also seen holding a parasol over the head of the god. There is, however, another attendant before the horse who is carrying aloft a lighted torch by both the hands, suggesting thereby that the god is returning after the arduous task of hunting late in the night. A dog is also seen running along with the horse.

Another sculpture of near about the same period, which represents Revanta, is lying under a tree at Newal, Unnao, Uttar Pradesh.⁵ The god has frizzled locks of hair falling at the back. A female attendant, standing in the *tṛbhāṅga* pose behind

1. *Br. Saṁ.*, ch. 57, v. 56.

2. *JBRs*, XLVII, p. 212 and the plate (pl. VII.1).

3. *ASR*, XV, p. 23.

4. *Patna Museum Arch.* No. 10648.

5. Sharma, B.N., *Revanta in Literature and Art*, *Purāṇa*, XIII, 2, p. 139.

him, holds an umbrella over his head. The lower part of the sculpture being damaged, the details are missing. It can be dated around the 6th century A.D. (Fig. 16).

A notable sculpture of light grey stone from central India, housed in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, represents Revanta in high relief riding his horse.¹ Accompanied by his hosts (*Guhyakas*), he is shown proceeding towards the proper right side. He holds a flower in his right hand, while the left hand, somewhat damaged, is carrying a bowl and the reins of the horse in between his two fingers. A dog is seen below with its head raised upward. There are three male figures behind the deity, one of them carrying an umbrella, the other carrying two pots tied to a pole, and the third a bag on his left shoulder and also holding the leg of an animal or a bird in his raised right hand. There are also four figures on the right side of the deity, two of them carrying a dead animal, perhaps a pig, on their shoulders. Below them a figure has been shown holding an upraised sword and a circular shield, while on the ground another figure is depicted beating a drum. Stylistically, the sculpture may be dated in c. 6th-7th century A.D.

There is a charming image of Revanta *in situ* at Abaneri near Jaipur in Rajasthan.² The deity wears an ornamental crown, ear-ornaments, *ekāvali* and typical armlets (known as *taddā* in Rajasthan). His attendants wear peculiar head-dresses, one of them holding a lance. The sculpture, though badly damaged, speaks highly of the Rajasthan craftsman. It is assigned to the Pratihāra period in c. 8th century A.D.

The Patna Museum has a considerably weather-worn sculpture from Patna City representing Revanta riding the back of a horse to right.³ He is carrying a wine-cup by his right hand brought to the level of his chest, while he is holding the reins of the horse by his left hand. There is an attendant at the back of the horse who is grasping the shaft of the parasol held over the head of the god. There are a few miniature figures accompanying him, one of them shown dancing in the lower right corner. Some of the figures appear to be those of monkeys suggesting the venue to be a jungle the hunting party had visited (Fig. 17).

Carved out of black basalt, the figure of Revanta from Gaya in the Allahabad Museum is quite interesting.⁴ The god holding a cup in the right hand is riding the horse. He wears top boots which are thrust into the stirrups. An attendant behind him is holding a parasol over him, and another attendant preceding the god is carrying a sword. Facing him is a man pouring wine from a jar in the cup held by him, and behind him is yet another badly damaged attendant. There is a miniature dog accompanying the god. The sculpture is dated in c. 9th century A.D.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 139 (Museum No. IC 34614; ht. 105 cms.).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

3. *Patna Museum Arch. No.* 11101.

4. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 113, pl. XCVIII.278.

The Rajputana Museum at Ajmer preserves an interesting image of Revanta from Sawar, district Ajmer, belonging to the mediaeval period.¹ The god has been represented riding on the back of a horse, with a circular halo behind his head. A female standing in the front offers a cup of wine to the god, while a male carries a sword and a shield. A female attendant standing behind the god is carrying a bag from which she is taking out something. A male attendant is seen standing behind the horse holding an umbrella over the head of the master. The sculpture beautifully illustrates the hunting in process.

There is an elegantly carved bronze statuette from Gujarat belonging to the 11th century A.D. The god is riding on horse-back towards the right, holding the reins of the horse in his left hand and an unsheathed sword in his upraised right hand. A female attendant standing behind the horse is holding a rather long shaft of a parasol over the head of the lord. Another female attendant is also seen facing the god carrying something in her hands. There is also a male attendant moving towards the right with a bag hanging from his right shoulder. A dog is also seen running towards the right in the right corner of the pedestal (Fig. 18).

There is another figure of Revanta from Bhita in the Allahabad Museum which is carved out of buff coloured sandstone and is dated in c. 11th century A.D.² The god, whose head is missing, is represented as riding a horse with an attendant behind him clasping the shaft of a parasol. He has been shown in the act of hunting with companions following and preceding him who are also on horse-backs. The god carries a drinking cup and the rider behind him a spear, all the three riders including the god at the centre wearing boots. Beneath the hooves of their horses, there is a tableau of the hunt. From left to right are three drummers, a running dog, a man playing upon cymbals and a kneeling devotee. Above on a long pedestal are the Navagrahas and other figures with Ravi, the father of Revanta to the far left.

Of nearly the same date there is an image of Revanta, broken into two parts, which was unearthed from inside the Garhwa fort near Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh.³ Putting on usual ornaments and top boots, the god is holding an unsheathed sword in his right hand and a damaged object in the left. A dog can be seen near the right foot of the lord which is found attacking a boar.

The State Museum, Lucknow, has a sculpture of Revanta, though unfinished, yet quite simple in execution.⁴ The god wears a crown, usual ornaments and top boots. A male attendant holds an umbrella over his head, while a female with a water-jar in her hands stands reverentially slightly bent forward. The sculpture is assigned to the 12th century A.D.

1. Sharma, B.N., *Purāṇa*, XIII, 2, p. 141 (Museum No. 375); *The Researcher*, XII-XIII, pl. XXI.
2. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 108, pl. XCV.260.
3. Sharma, B.N., *Purāṇa*, XIII, 2, p. 143.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

An equally elegantly carved image of Revanta, enshrined in the Ghanaśyāmaji Temple at Nagar in Rajasthan, is represented as being preceded by two male figures, one of them blowing a conch-shell.¹ The deity puts on a bejewelled crown and the ornaments. A neatly executed sculpture, it can be regarded as one of the masterpieces of the Chauhān art of the 12th century A.D.

An interesting basalt image of Revanta hailing from Ghāṭnagar (Dinajpur),² now housed in the Rajshahi Museum, depicts the god in somewhat a novel manner. Belonging to the late mediaeval period, the relief represents the god booted, riding on the back of a horse and holding a lash (whip) in his right hand (not a drinking bowl as seen in the sculptures discussed above) and the reins of the horse in the left, with an attendant at the back, holding an umbrella over his head. He is, however, shown here in the midst of two robbers; one of them ready to attack from the front and the other on a tree-top from behind. The pedestal shows a woman standing, a devotee and a man with a sword and shield ready to assault a woman cutting a fish with a fish-knife. Just above the horse's head, on the right corner of the partially broken stela is a dwelling house with a couple within it. According to Banerjea,³ some sections of the Ghāṭnagar relief seem to typify peaceful home life, while others, the perils of life. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*⁴ says that 'Revanta, son of Sūrya and Samajñā, and the king of the Guhyakas, delivers people from the terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagration, of enemies and robbers, and bestows upon his worshippers comforts, intelligence, happiness, kinship, perfect health, fame and exalted position'. The Ghāṭnagar relief thus seems to have been based on the textual description of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

The figures of Revanta are thus of two distinct types. The figures in which, in accordance with the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, the god has been represented as a hunter accompanied by a party of huntsmen, may be included in the first type. There, are, however, two different varieties under the first type :— (i) those in which actually the process of hunting is shown as illustrated by the Nālandā, the Baḍ-kāmītā and the Indian Museum images and (ii) those in which the hunting is already over and the party of the huntsmen is preparing to return back with the booty, as depicted in the Sultanganj sculpture. In the second type, Revanta is sculptured not as a hunter followed by the members of the hunting party, but, in accordance with the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, as the bestower of mental and material blessings and the mitigator of oddities and obstacles for the human existence, as exemplified by the Ghāṭnagar sculpture in the Rajshahi Museum.

1. *Ibid.*

2. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-43, pl. XXIX.2.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 442-43.

4. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, chap. 108 (ch. 109, Bibliotheca Edn.), vv. 22-23.

As already seen, images of Revanta show wide divergence in respect of features from those of Kalki. The only common point in them is that both are depicted as riding on the back of a horse. Kalki is to be shown angry in mood and brandishing sword; but sword is not a feature of Revanta, who is endowed with top-boots, armour and conical head-dress like his father Sūrya, and sometimes accompanied by a hunting party or conceived as the bestower of peace and happiness and remover of obstacles for the welfare of human existence.

In the Buddhist art, the future Buddha too is represented as a horse-rider, like Revanta, in the Great-departure (*mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*) scene, with a parasol held over his head by an attendant identified as his groom Chhandaka. But unlike Revanta, he is not accompanied by any hunting party, for the gathering of personages around him is basically of different nature and never suggestive of such a party. Moreover, the hooves of the horse of the future Buddha are supported by the Yakṣas or semi-divine beings, flying through the sky, lest there should be any noise. Such a feature with regard to Revanta's horse is certainly not to be met with.

KĀRTTIKEYA

THE war-god Kārttikeya is a deity of absorbing interest. Judging from literary, numismatic and sculptural evidences, he seems to be very popular from a fairly early period. He is unknown to the Vedas¹ and even Pāṇini² (c. 5th century B.C.), though he alludes to figured representations, gives no hint of the deities whose images were prepared during his time. The *Dharmasūtra*³ of Baudhāyana, however, contains early references to Skanda and his various names e.g. Śaṇmukha, Jayanta, Viśākha, Subrahmaṇya and Mahāsenā; but it is in the epics that the deity appears in full-fledged form.⁴ The *Mahābhāṣya*⁵ of Pātañjali, which attests to the popularity of Kārttikeya, makes express mention of the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha made for worship. Skanda and Viśākha are well known to be the names of the one and the same god; but their separate mention by Pātañjali is rather interesting. Bhandarkar⁶ has aptly remarked, 'if these two names had denoted but a single deity, Pātañjali would have mentioned only one, but as he has used two names, it is clear that Skanda and Viśākha must denote two different gods'. In the *Mahābhārata*,⁷ Viśākha is stated to have arisen from the right side of Skanda when the latter was struck by Indra's thunderbolt. R.G. Bhandarkar⁸ says: 'This is indicative of the tendency to make the two as one person and they appear to have been so made in later times'. That Skanda and Viśākha originally denoted two distinct deities is accidentally corroborated by the two interesting coin types of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka which show (i) two male figures standing to front with the legend 'Skando Komaro Bizagō' on the one⁹ and (ii) three figures standing side by side within a

1. Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 467.

2. Pāṇini, v. 3.99.

3. Baudhāyana *Dharmasūtra*, 2, 5, 8.

4. *Rām.*, I.37; *Mbh. Vanaparvan*, ch. 229.

5. *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. by Kielhorn, vol. II, p. 429.

6. Bhandarkar, D.R., *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 22.

7. *Mbh. Vanaparvan*, ch. 229; Bhandarkar, R.G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 215.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

9. Gardner, BMC, pl. XXVIII.23; *Num. Chron.*, XII, 1892, p. 106, pl. X.16.

shrine accompanied by the legend 'Skando Komaro Bizago Maacano' on the other.¹ What is worth noting is that in both the coin types the words 'Skando' and 'Komaro' have been written together and that too side by side in one line, indicating thereby that they (Skando and Komaro) form the name of the one and only one god, while Bizago and Maacano written separately evidently stand for two other gods. This may explain the reason why there are only two figures on the one and three figures on the other type, though there are three and four words appearing as legends on them. In view of this, Bhandarkar's² assumption that there are three and four figures corresponding to three and four different names on the coins cannot be accepted. It is thus quite evident that Skanda and Viśākha, regarded as two different divinities, continued to be considered as such at least up to the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka, who ruled in the first half of the 2nd century A.D. But the deities treated separately on Huviṣka's coins fused into one some time after, all of them denoting one and the same god namely Kārttikeya. A passage in the *Mahāmāyūrī*,³ as suggested by Banerjea,⁴ shows that by the time it was written (which must have been within a century and a half of Huviṣka's time),⁵ Kārttikeya and Kumāra denoted the same deity having its famous shrine at Rohitaka. The same idea is conveyed by the *Amarakośa*⁶ which enumerates a variety of names of Kārttikeya.

Kārttikeya, generally described as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, seems to have been conceived first as the offspring of Agni. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁷ he is stated to be the son of Agni from Gaṅgā. In this regard, R.G. Bhandarkar⁸ observes, "the foetus was thrown by Gaṅgā on the Hīmavat mountain and it was nourished by the six stars constituting the constellation of Kṛttikā and was thus called the son of the Kṛttikās or Kārttikeya". In the *Mahābhārata*⁹ too, he is represented as the son of Agni but born from his wife Svāhā. Svāhā enamoured of Agni is said to have assumed the forms of the wives of six Ṛṣis whom he loved, and, every time after her union with him, repaired to the top of an inaccessible mountain, where she deposited the seed into a golden receptacle, out of which was born a child with six heads, twelve ears, eyes, arms and feet united into a single body and neck. It is, however,

1. Gardner, *BMC*, pl. XXVII.1; *Num. Chron.*, XII, 1892, pl. X.17.

2. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

3. *Mahāmāyūrī*, v. 21 : 'Rohitake Kārttikeyaḥ Kumāro lokaviśrutaḥ'.

4. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 146.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

6. *Amarakośa*, I.1.39-40 :

"Kārttikeyo Mahāsenah Śarajanmā Śaḍānanah
Pārvatīnandanah Skandah Senāniragnibhurguḥah
Bāhuleustāraka-jidviśākhaḥ Śikhivāhanah
Śāṇmāturah Śaktidhara-Kumārāḥ Krauñchadāraṇah

7. *Rām.*, I.37.

8. Bhandarkar, R.G., *op. cit.*, p. 214.

9. *Mbh. Vanaparvan*, ch. 229, vv. 15-19.

worthy to note that the story makes Agni to appear from the orb of the Sun,¹ thus establishing an identity of the one with the other and evidently suggesting Kārttikeya to be also a solar deity. It may also be noted that in the story Śiva has nothing to do with the birth of the divine child, though when he is brought before the gods to be witnessed by them, he is addressed as 'Rudra-putra', Rudra being an epithet of Agni.² However, in the same epic,³ Kārttikeya is mentioned elsewhere as the offspring of Śiva and Pārvatī who are said to have assumed the forms of Agni and Svāhā respectively. The transference of Kārttikeya's parentage from Agni to Śiva is not difficult to visualise, for Rudra, the epithet of Agni, is also Śiva's epithet. Various are the stories narrating the birth of Kārttikeya given not only in this epic⁴ but also in the Purāṇas⁵ (based on which is the elaborate description in Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*) which may convey the impression that the necessity of a commander for the army of the gods, who suffered at the hands of the demons, was the immediate cause of his birth, that his birth was caused from the seed of Śiva which fell on the ground as a result of intervention of the gods during his long-lasting union with his spouse Pārvatī, that Śiva cast his seed into Agni (or the seed so fallen was taken up by Agni) who threw it into the womb of the Ganges, that the Ganges deposited the seed into a receptacle amongst the 'śaravaṇa' on the top of the mount Meru, that it was nursled by the six Kṛttikās (or according to another version, the seed was transferred to the six Kṛttikās when they went to bathe in the Ganges), and that ultimately the divine child with six faces was born. Rao⁶ has aptly pointed out that 'most of his epithets have reference to the circumstances of his birth'. Thus being born from the discharged seed of Śiva, he came to be known as Skanda. As the seed was cast by Śiva into Agni who threw it into the womb of the Ganges, he was called Agnibhū and Gaṅgāputra. The foetus having been transferred into the six Kṛttikās or nursled by them, he was named as Kārttikeya. According to a changed version, Gaṅgā placed the seed in a thicket of reeds (śaravaṇa) into a receptacle from which he came out after six days, and so he was called Śarajanaman and Guha. Having been nursled by the six Kṛttikās, he came to possess six faces and as such, he was called Ṣaṇmukha and Ṣaḍānana. He commanded the army of the gods; hence he was named Devasenāpati. He vanquished the demon Tāraka, from which he earned the epithet Tārakāri. He pierced the Krauñcha mountain; so he became famous by the name of Krauñchabhṛta.

1. Yadvaiṣṇī, *Saiva-Mata*, p. 75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

3. *Mbh. Vanaparvan*, ch. 188.

4. *Mbh. Śalya.*, 39; *Anuśāsanaparvan*, 74, 42 ff; 75, 5 ff.

5. *Varāha P.*, 25, 52; *Saura P.*, 60-62; *Brahmayāgavarta P.*, III, chs. 1-2; *Vāyu P.*, 72, 20 ff; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, pt. ii, ch. 40; *Matsya P.*, 158, 26 ff; *Brahma P.*, ch. 128, etc.

6. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, pp. 429-30.

As Bhattacharya¹ suggests, the very name Kumāra (or (Kārttikeya) is indicative of youth and spirit. Even the *Bṛhatsamhitā*,² one of the earliest iconographic texts, has been found prescribing a youthful appearance for his images. In the descriptions, Kārttikeya is closely associated with a spear (*śakti*) as his main attribute, a peacock as his vehicle, and a cock as his important emblem. A large cock with a red tuft is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*³ as comprising a gift to the generalissimo of the gods prior to his marriage with Devasenā and a cock is included in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*⁴ amongst the objects to be held by the deity. That Kārttikeya is a solar deity is already indicated in the legend connected with his birth and his association with the cock may be explained by their possible common solar connection, as cock is well known to be the harbinger of the rising sun. It is, therefore, no wonder if the figure of Sūrya is found prominently carved on the broken red sandstone shaft of the 2nd century A.D., discovered at Lala Bhagat⁵ in the Kanpur district of U.P. which originally seems to have been a *kukkuṭa-dhvaja* of Kārttikeya, topped by the figure of a cock, also found separately in the vicinity. The solar basis of Kārttikeya can also be detected from the fact that the spear, the important attribute of the god, is said to have been fashioned from a portion of Sūrya's glory.⁶ Besides, the peacock, the vehicle of the god, has its feathers a marvellous blending of all the colours essential for representing the luminous glory of the sun.⁷ A peacock is also found several times occurring in association with the solar symbols on pottery-pieces from Chanhudaro, one of the important centres of the early Indus civilization.⁸ But the peacock, the vehicle of Kārttikeya, as observed by Bhandarkar,⁹ is also consistent with his connection with Śiva as peacocks abound in the forest of which Rudra and his attendants are supposed to be the gods. Again, whereas at one place the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* regards Skanda (also called Daṇḍa) as one of the divinities attending upon Sūrya, the same *Purāṇa* at another place informs that one of the *dvārapālakas* of Kārttikeya is Sūrya under the name Rājñā.¹⁰ Even the *dhyanāśloka* current in south India actually calls him Sūrya.¹¹ As will be presently shown, the solar connection of Kārttikeya is also demonstrated by a figure of the deity discovered in Taxila¹² which is represented as wearing high-boots like the north Indian figures of Sūrya.

1. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Indian Images*, I, p. 27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

3. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 468.

4. *Viṣṇudh.*, III, ch. 71, vv. 3-6.

5. *ASIAR*, 1929-30, pp. 132-33, pl. XXXI; *JISOA*, V, pp. 13 f; Banerjee, *DHI*, pp. 116-18.

6. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, p. 431 (according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*).

7. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

8. Yaduvamśī, *Śaiva-Mata*, p. 76.

9. Bhandarkar, R.G., *op. cit.*, p. 215.

10. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

12. *ASIAR*, 1934-35, p. 31, pl. VIII (f).

In the *Brhatsamhitā*,¹ Kārttikeya is described as being youthful in appearance, having a spear in his hand and a peacock as his main object of cognisance. Although the number of his arms is not mentioned in the text, yet a two-armed figure is obviously meant. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*,² however, describes a six-faced figure under the name of Kumāra with clear-cut features as endowed with six faces, decorated with the *śikhāṇḍaka* type of coiffure, dressed in red garment, riding on a noble peacock, and holding a cock (*kukkuṭa*) and a bell in his right hands and a victory-flag (*vaijayanti-patākā*) and a spear (*śakti*) in the left ones. The number of the hands of the god, according to this work, is evidently four. The *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*,³ however, describes the images of Kārttikeya very copiously and elaborately. According to this work as well the deity is to be represented like the morning sun, clothed in red garments and having a fiery red colour. His form is required to be beautiful, and though youthful, should be tending towards childhood. He is required to have a garland of *muktā-maṇi*. He can have either six heads or only one head. He is to be shown with his *śakti* (spear), the very embodiment of his prowess. The number of his arms, however, varies according to the places. In a town, he is to be adorned with twelve arms, in the *khetaka* with six arms and in a village with two arms only. In the twelve-armed variety, his five right hands are to carry *śakti* (his most characteristic weapon), arrow, sword, *muṣṇṇī* and *mudgar* (hammer) and the sixth one to be shown spreading; in the five left hands are to be shown bow, flag of victory, *ghaṇṭā*, *khetaka* and cock and the sixth one to be displayed in *samvardhana* pose. This form, equipped with the arms of warfare, is especially suited for the battle-field—as the commander of the army of the gods. In his mild disposition, he is to be shown full of play and sports, with goat, cock and peacock etc. This form is most suited for the town. In the *Khetakas*, he is to be shown with six hands, glowing with the lustre of fire, with sharp weapons as mentioned above and wearing garlands. In a village, he is to be provided with two arms only, holding *śakti* and cock in them. His consort Devasenā or Kaumārī is, however, missing in this account of the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*.⁴ Bhattacharya⁵ has rightly observed that the number of the hands of Kārttikeya differs accordingly as he is worshipped in different places. Thus, according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁶ as well, in a rustic town, his image is required to have twelve arms, in a *Karbaṭa* four arms, while in a forest or a village only two arms. In some cases, he is described as having six arms.⁷

The Āgamas and the Tantras have described several varieties of the Kārttikeya

1. *Br. Sam.*, ch. 57, v. 41.

2. *Viṣṇudh.*, III., ch. 71, vv. 3-6.

3. Shukla, D.N., *Hindu Canons of Iconography*, pp. 296-97.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

5. Bhattacharya, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 26.

6. *Matsya P.*, ch. 260.47.

7. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

images. According to Rao,¹ corresponding to the various names of Subrahmaṇya are the images whose descriptions are found in almost all the Āgamas. Subrahmaṇya is the most popular deity of south India, so much so that there is not a single village, town, garden, mountain top and other odd places where his shrine is not to be found. On the authority of the various Āgamas and Tantras, Rao,² in his monumental work on Hindu iconography, has noted in details the iconographic features of a large number of varieties of the images of Kārttikeya, such as Śaktidhara, Skanda, Senāpati, Subrahmaṇya, Gajavāhana, Śaravānabhava, Kārttikeya, Kumāra, Ṣaṇmukha, Tārakāri, Senāni, Brahmaśāsta, Valli-kalyāṇasundara-mūrti, Bālasvāmi, Krauñchabhēta, Śikhivāhana, Jñānaśakti, Deśika and others.

The earliest iconographic types of Kārttikeya are to be seen on some of the tribal coins of ancient India. On the coins of Vijayamitra³ and on a circular copper piece of Devamitra⁴ (c. 1st century A.D.) both the local kings of Ayodhyā, the deity is represented symbolically by means of what has been described by Smith⁵ as 'Cock on the top of post'. Such a representation is evidently based on the cock-crested banner peculiar to Kārttikeya.⁶ The conjecture also receives support by the discovery of a broken stone shaft and its detached cock capital of 2nd century A.D. at Lala Bhagat in the Cawnpore district.⁷

The deity, however, appears in human form on the coins of the Audumbaras⁸ where he is shown standing in the form of a warrior and holding a spear in his right hand. On Class 2 Ujjaini coins⁹ is a deity who has been identified as Kārttikeya since he holds a spear in his hand. He is shown with three heads on variety 1 of this class of coins.¹⁰ Allan¹¹ observes that 'other three heads are behind, and naturally not represented because they cannot be seen, so that he is six-headed—which identifies him with Kārttikeya'. On Class 3 coins,¹² the deity is crudely represented, while he is found on Class 5, variety 'a' also. Banerjea, is, however, disposed to identify the figure to be that of Śiva.¹³ Not only that; even Allan¹⁴ identified the figure as Kārttikeya doubtfully, for he also remarks that the figure may stand for both Śiva and Kārttikeya.

1. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, p. 432.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 432-43.

3. Allan, *CCAI*, pp. 138-39, pls. XVII.22 and XVIII.1-3; Smith, *CCIMC*, p. 151.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 151, pl. XIX.18.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

6. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

7. *ASIAR*, 1929-30, pp. 132-33, pl. XXXI; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 f.

8. Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxvi, 125-29, pls. XV.13-20 and XLIII.1-2.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. cxlii-cxliii, pls. XXXVIII and XXXVII.19-21.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. cxliii and 250, pl. XXXVIII.22.

11. *Ibid.*, p. cxliii.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. cxliii and 253-55, pls. XXXVII.5-7 and XIX, 4-6, 8, 9.

13. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 117.

14. Allan, *CCAI*, p. cxliii.

But the coins of the Yaudheyas issued in the 2nd century A.D. contain not only the figures of Kārttikeya but also bear legends which mention his name. On a unique silver¹ and certain copper² coins, Kārttikeya appears in anthropomorphic form, sometimes polycephalous (six-headed).³ The obverse of one class of these coins⁴ depicts the six-headed but two-armed Kārttikeya (Śaḍananana) holding a long spear (*śakti*, his favourite weapon) in his right hand, the left hand resting on the hip. The reverse of the coins has the goddess, presumably Lakṣmī, with an aureole round her head, and, not a six-headed goddess as described by Cunningham.⁵ The legend on the silver coin has been read by Allan⁶ as '*Yaudheya bhagavata-svāmīno Brahmanya (sa or sya)*' and on the copper coins as '*Bhagavata-svāmīno Brahmanya-devasya (or sa) Kumārasya (or sa)*' ('Of Brahmanya, the divine lord of the Yaudheyas' and 'Of Kumāra, the divine lord Brahmanya-deva'). The legends thus show that the coins were issued in the name of the deity, suggesting thereby that the Yaudheyas had dedicated their state to the god of their choice and that they regarded him not only as their spiritual but also as their temporal ruler. In support of this view, it may be pointed out that the terracotta seal of a ruling chief of the 3rd or early 4th century A.D. found by Marshall at Bhita⁷ contains a legend of great significance translated as 'of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vṛṣadhvaḥ, the penetrator of the Vindhya, who had made over his kingdom to the great lord Mahāsena (i.e. Kārttikeya)'. The *Mahābhārata*⁸ incidentally refers to the principal town of the Yaudheyas, also known as the Mattamāyūrakas, as the specially favoured residence of Kārttikeya. Rohitaka is described here as full of great treasure, beautiful, rich in cattle and paddy and beloved of Kārttikeya (*Kārttikeyasya dayitam*). Birbal Sahni⁹ found a large number of coin-moulds of the Yaudheyas from Rohtak (ancient Rohitaka), the legend on which described them as '*bahudhānyaka Yaudheya*'. The *Mahāmāyūrī*¹⁰ also informs that Kumāra Kārttikeya was the world-famed tutelary deity of Rohitaka. On the other class of the Yaudheya coins (Class 6 of Allan¹¹) assignable to the 3rd-4th century A.D., Kārttikeya appears somewhat differently, exhibiting undoubted Kuṣāṇa influence. The one-faced war-god is shown standing to front, with his right hand holding a spear and the left one resting on the hip, and his vehicle, the peacock, on the left. The peacock has not usually been shown on other types of the coins of the Yaudheyas.

1. *Ibid.*, p. cxlix and p. 270, pl. XXXIX.21.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 271-73, pls. XXXIX.20 and 22, and XL.10-11.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 271-73, pls. XXXIX.20 and XL.10-11.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 271-73, pls. XXXIX.20 and XL.10-11.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. cxlix and cl.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. cl-cli.

7. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 142.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 143; *Mbh.*, 2.32, 4-5.

9. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

10. *Mahāmāyūrī*, v. 21.

11. Allan, *CCAI*, pl. XL.1, 2, 4-6, 9.

As already seen, Huviṣka¹ is the only foreign ruler who issued coins with the effigies of this god under various names such as Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsenā. Mahāsenā (a form of Kārttikeya) is represented as nimbate, clad in an undergarment covered over by a long flowing cloak² (like the *saṃghatī* of the Buddha figures and not chlamys as suggested by Gardner), holding a standard surmounted by a bird (rude peacock) and his left hand resting on the hilt of the sword which is tied to his waist girdle. Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha have been depicted as standing face to face, similarly dressed, and both of them holding a long spear, or the former might be carrying in his right hand a bird-surmounted standard (which is indistinct, and according to Banerjea,³ what seems to be a bird might be a combination of the M of KOMAPO and part of the hair or turban of the god). It may be observed that the figure at the right does not appear to have any halo carved round the head while the other two have its distinct traces. But as remarked by Banerjea,⁴ 'sometimes the aureole is missing from the heads of divinities on Kuṣāṇa coins'. These figures on the coins of Huviṣka are enshrined within a pavilion consisting of an ornamental double basement with a linear representation of a superstructure, what would appear to be, according to Coomaraswamy,⁵ the earliest known depiction of a specifically Brahmanical shrine.

A close parallelism is noticeable between the depiction of Kārttikeya on the coins of the early centuries of the Christian era and his sculptural representations. As on the Audumbara and the Yaudheya coins, the deity in early Kuṣāṇa art is also represented as standing and two-armed with a spear in the left hand, but exhibiting *varada mudrā* by the right hand.⁶ The earliest image of Kārttikeya, an ideal example of Kuṣāṇa art, is possibly the one in the Mathura Museum,⁷ which bears on its pedestal an inscription informing that it was installed in the 11th year of Kanishka's reign (i.e. 89 A.D.). The two-armed deity shown standing and holding his characteristic weapon, the spear, in his left hand and exhibiting *abhaya mudrā* by the right resembles closely in general execution along with the drapery, the ornaments and the hand pose to the Bodhisattva images,⁸ excepting the addition of a spear in one of the hands. The peacock, the vehicle of the god, as on the coins, is conspicuous by its absence.

1. Gardner, *BMC*, pls. XXVIII.23 and XXVII.1.

2. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

5. Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, p. 22.

6. Agrawala, *A Cat. of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, pp. ix and 39 (Mathura Museum no. 1022).

7. *Ibid.*, p. ix (no. 2949); *JUPHS*, XVI, pt. i, pl. II; Nagar, M.M., *Puratattva-Saṃgrahālaya Mathurā ki Parichaya Pustak*, p. 21, pl. XXVII, 55; Bajpayi, K.D., *Mathura*, p. 32, pl. 24; Leeuw, J.E., Van Lohuizen-de, *The Scythian Period*.

8. Cf. Bajpayi, K.D., *Mathura*, pl. XXI.

Iconographically more developed is the figure of the god preserved in the Mathurā Museum of somewhat later date.¹ Assignable to the 2nd century A.D., the deity, although represented standing, is shown holding a long spear not in the left but in the right hand (instead of exhibiting the *varada* pose) and a cock in the left one.² To a very great extent, the representation of the deity approximates the description given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*,³ which prescribes that a two-armed figure should have the left hand placed on a cock and a spear on the right side. A much similar figure of Kārttikeya with spear and cock, belonging to the latest Gandhāra art, which was discovered in Taxila,⁴ is of great iconographic interest. As already referred to, like the north India images of Sūrya, Kārttikeya is shown with high boots on,⁵ which characteristically illustrates his connection with Sūrya in the capacity of a solar deity. Passingly it may be mentioned that even Śāmba who had also some mythical connection with the Sūrya cult of northern India has likewise been shown with high boots in certain of the Mathurā images of the Kuṣāṇa period.⁶

In the preceding examples, as observed, the deity is represented without his favourite mount, the peacock; but in the Gupta period, he is certainly depicted more often seated on the back of his vehicle. The Gupta monarchs were the followers of the Vaiṣṇava faith (*paramabhāgavata*); but there is some evidence to believe that at least Kumāragupta I attached great importance to the god Kārttikeya. Not only that he bore the name Kumāra of the generalissimo of the gods; but his son Skandagupta was also named after him. The Bilsad stone inscription⁷ of his time (A.D. 414-15) makes mention of the addition of a gallery to the shrine of Kārttikeya called Mahāsenā. The much mutilated Bihar stone inscription of the time of Skandagupta⁸ also contains a reference to Skanda and the Divine Mothers. As Banerjea⁹ points out, Kārttikeya is here 'apparently in the role of the guardian of the Mothers, which position is often assigned to Gaṇapati and Virabhadra (an aspect of Śiva) in the mediaeval reliefs representing the Saptamātṛkās'. It is no less significant to note in this connection that Kumāragupta I substituted the peacock for the Garuḍa symbol and his 'Kārttikeya type' of gold coins, which is an innovation of his reign, was obviously intended to be numismatic homage to the deity, after whom he was named.¹⁰ It was rather in the fitness of the circumstance that

1. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 39 (no. 2332); *JISOA*, V, p. 129.

2. *IHQ*, XXX, pt. ii, 1954, p. 81.

3. *Matsya P.*, ch. 259, v. 60.

4. *ASIAR*, 1934-35, p. 31, pl. VIII, f.

5. *IHQ*, XXX, pt. ii, 1954, pp. 81 and 85, pl. I.

6. *JISOA*, XII, pp. 129 ff.

7. Fleet, *CII*, III, pp. 44-45.

8. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 363; *CII*, III, p. 49.

9. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 364.

10. Altekar, A.S., *GCG*, BH, p. ci.

the Gupta monarch should have invoked the aid of the war-god Kārttikeya whose effigy he put on his gold coins as the country towards the fag end of his reign faced ruthless invasions of the deadly foes like the Hūṇas and the Puṣyamitras. The Kārttikeya type which bears an elaborate figure of the god shows him nimbate riding on his mount, the peacock (*śikhi-parvāni*), and armed with his special weapon, the spear (*śakti*), in the left hand over his shoulder, the right hand being held in the boon-giving pose.¹ According to the description given by Allan, Kārttikeya is sprinkling incense² (or apparently something, as opined by Altekar³) by his right hand on an altar; but the view is not accepted by Banerjea,⁴ who suggests that what appears to be an altar is nothing but two of the entrants of the right side of the pedestal on which the god with his vehicle is shown, and the right hand is thus really shown only in the boon-conferring attitude.

A number of stone sculptures of Kārttikeya belonging to the Gupta period also exhibit features much akin to those noticed in the representations of the god on the gold coins of Kumāragupta I. The red sandstone relief, a proud possession of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī,⁵ is a noble production of the Gupta period showing its affinity much closer to his figures on the Gupta monarch's gold coins. As on the coins, the deity is seated astride on the back of his mount, the colourful tail feathers of which is made to form an attractive background,⁶ and carrying his weapon, the spear, in his left hand. He is, however, embracing the neck of the peacock by his right leg, his left leg hanging down being placed on the pedestal, and holding some kind of fruit in his right hand at which the bird pecks with its gracefully curved neck (Fig. 19). N.R. Ray⁷ has observed that 'the Kārttikeya which comes nearest to the Sarnath plastic conception is relatively slightly thinner in spiritual experience and hence also slightly different in treatment as well. Generally speaking the figure is relatively heavy and spread out, the modelling terse and the outline more slow and polished than gliding and melting'.

The Patna Museum specimen⁸ in buff-coloured stone is also an impressive piece of Gupta sculpture, which, but for its biocronate head-dress, bears a family likeness to the well-known Bhārat Kalā Bhavan image.⁹ Riding his peacock and holding

1. Altekar, *GGC*, BH, pp. ci-cii, pl. XXVI.1-13.

2. Allan, *CCGD*, BM, pp. 84 ff.

3. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. ci.

4. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

5. Rupam No. 21, 1925, p. 41; Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, pl. XLVI, fig. 175; Ashton, L., *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 55, pl. 30; Saraswati, S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, pl. XXI.93; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 366, pl. XVI.2.

6. Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, VI.4 : 'Mayūra-prṣṭhāśrayiṇā-guhena'.

7. Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, pl. XX.44, pp. 520-21.

8. Shere, S.A., *Guide to the Archl. Section, Patna Museum*, p. 8, pl. v.

9. Di wakar, R.R., *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 305-06 (pl. VIII.1).

his spear in his left hand in quite an identical manner, the figure of the god is rather a more simplified stone rendering of Kārttikeya in which the right hand is simply held in the *varada mudrā* (instead of keeping a fruit in it) and the halo behind the head is quite plain. The peacock is, however, looking up to the master with a great devotion.¹ In the fragmentary terracotta panel of the Gupta period, housed in the Mathurā Museum,² as well Kārttikeya is shown holding a spear and seated on the back of his mount. The smiling facial expression of the deity shows the figure to be a lovely creation of the clay modeller's art. The panel from the Śiva temple at Bhumra³ also depicts the god similarly seated on his peacock and carrying a spear in one of his hands. And so also in the famous Anantaśāyin panel of the Deogarh temple,⁴ he is found seated on his vehicle; but the object in the right hand is mutilated which may certainly have been the spear for it is his special weapon invariably found in other Gupta examples.

One of the sculptures from the district of Bhojpur represents Kārttikeya standing with his consort Kārttikeyānī standing to his left.⁵ The right arm of the god is somewhat damaged. There is a plain halo behind his head. The face of the god is lit up with divine lustre, and the softness and the attractiveness of his physiognomy are but simply remarkable. The sculpture is fully characterised by the perfect balance of form which is an essential quality of the Gupta classical art.

The figure of Kārttikeya presently under the possession of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi hails from Benisagar in the Singhbhum district of Bihar.⁶ Carved out of somewhat rough sandstone, the sculpture represents the two-armed god with his special emblem the spear held in his right hand and seated in *lalitāsana* on his favourite mount, the peacock. This sculpture as well belongs to the Gupta period.

Fragments of a pillar from Rajouna in the Nalanda district of Bihar, now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta,⁷ represent scenes from 'Arjuna's Penance' and 'Descent of the Ganges'. In this context, they contain superb representation of Kārttikeya along with that of Gaṇeśa.

Two representations of Kārttikeya from the Muṇḍeśvarī temple in the district of Bhojpur are among important recent acquisitions of the Patna Museum. Both

1. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, p. 120, fig. 76 (Patna Museum no. 6003).
2. Bajpayi, K.D., *Archaeology in U.P.*, pl. XVI; Agrawala, V.S., *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra*, p. 51 (no. 2794).
3. *MAI-16*, p. 12, pl. XII, b.
4. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 40.
5. Patna Museum Arch. No. 6006. Cf. *Parisad Patrika*, October 1970, p. 21.
6. *A Catalogue of the Archl. Relics in the Museum of the VRS, Rajshahi*, No. G.1/181.
7. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 161.

the figures represent the god within a chaitya arch seated on the peacock and carrying a spear by the right hand. One of the representations is highly artistic. The peacock has its plumage outstretched forming a halo at the back of the deity. The sculptures retain the refinement of the Gupta modelling, and are much akin to the figure of the god from Bhumra.

One of the panels attached to the Brahmanical temple at Nalanda shows the figure of Kārttikeya. The two-armed god has been represented standing with a slight bend in his body, holding his *śakti* by his left hand. At the right lower corner of the panel has been depicted the peacock which is looking up lustily at the fruit held in the right hand of its master as if in a bid to peck at it. The figure has been drawn quite naturalistically.

Mention may also be made of an exceedingly superb image of Kārttikeya which is presently installed in the Harikaṭorā temple of Basarh. The deity facing to front is seated on the back of his favourite mount the peacock with its wings spread out sideways. He is holding a sufficiently long spear by his left hand while he is carrying the citrus fruit (*mātuluṅga*) in his right hand. The sculpture is characterised by fine modelling, sweetness of facial expression, brevity of ornaments and above all the naturalness of the figure, all suggestive of the high quality of the art specimen. Being carved out of dark chlorite, the figure has been put in the Pāla period;¹ but it may be noted that the material had already come into use in the post-Gupta period. And the features of the sculpture as well suggest that it cannot be far removed from the post-Gupta period, and hence, it can be dated around the 7th century A.D. (Fig. 20).

An exquisitely carved image recently acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi, shows Kārttikeya squatting on his mount the peacock Paravāṇī and carrying a spear (*śakti*) in his right hand.² His hair is typically arranged in the fashion of three *śikhaṇḍakas* and he wears circular ear-rings, crescent shaped necklace, other usual ornaments and a lower garment reaching up to the knees. The peacock pecks at the *mātuluṅga* held in the left hand of the god now lost. Its spread plumage serves as a halo for the god, as also shown in a somewhat similar Gupta image of the deity from U.P. and now displayed in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī. In this image, too, which is datable in the 7th century A.D., the whole atmosphere is one of astonishing repose and dignity (Fig. 21).

The two-armed figure of Kārttikeya from Nagar,³ which may be regarded as one of the earliest examples of the god discovered from Rājasthān, shows distinct

1. Mishra, Y., *A Guide to Vaisali and Vaisali Museum*, p. 40.

2. Sharma, B.N., *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, VIII, I-II, pp. 211-13 and plate.

3. *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 3-4, p. 109, pl. LII, fig. 1.

influence of the Gupta tradition. Bearing some affinity to the well known Bhārat Kalā Bhavan image, the deity with a *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure and wearing an *ekāvalī* necklace, is shown seated on his mount, holding a spear in his left hand, the right hand being damaged. A red standstone from Kakuni in the Museum and Sarasvatī Bhandar at Kotah¹ is another important and finely sculptured specimen of early mediaeval art in Rājasthān. What is of great interest is that the deity seated on his peacock is endowed with as many as six arms. He is feeding his peacock with a ball of sweets held in the lowermost left hand, while he has a bow and a shield in the remaining left hands. He is carrying a sword and a spear in his right hands and a quiver hanging behind his right shoulder. All these attributes of the god are worthy of his being the tutelary war-god. The two females standing on his either side, obviously his two wives, are also attractively poised. The figure of Kārttikeya from Bairat,² now in the Jaipur Central Museum, is also six-armed; but the remarkable feature is that the god is represented three-headed. Obviously a six-headed Kārttikeya is intended, but the three heads at the back could not be shown. Sitting in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat with the peacock boldly carved below, the six-armed deity has some of his hands damaged; but a shield and a cock in two of his left hands are quite recognisable. In his upper right hand he is holding a spear (also considerably damaged), while the object in the lowermost right hand is too indistinct to be identified. The god is wearing an *ekāvalī* necklace round his neck and the peacock is turning its neck towards its master, the pose of the bird and the rider adding to the attractiveness of the sculpture. A halo of serpent hoods behind the head of the deity is quite interesting.

Mention may also be made of still another stone image of Kārttikeya, a singular example of the Gupta period, in the Mathurā Museum,³ which as usual depicts the god mounted on his peacock, the plumage of which has been rendered in the fashion of a halo at the back.⁴ What renders the image iconographically more important is that the god is shown as being anointed as the commander of the divine forces by the four-faced Brahmā (only three faces being visible) on the right and Śiva on the left, both having matted locks and wearing girdles, who pour sacred water over Kārttikeya's head from the jars held inverted in their upraised hands. Besides there are two more miniature figures, the one to the right being headless while the other on the left being goat-faced, holding a trident-looking object in his right hand. The latter figure may be identified as Dakṣa Prajāpati or more appropriately as the ram-headed vehicle of Agni, with whom Kārttikeya is known to be intimately associated.⁵

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11, pl. LII, fig. 2.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 110, figure on p. 112.

3. *JISOA*, V, p. 129 (Mathurā Museum no. 466).

4. Agrawala, *Cat. of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, pp. 39-40; Agrawala, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra*, pp. 51-52.

5. Cf. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, p. 446, pl. CXXIV and Agrawala, *Cat. of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 40.

The figure of Kārttikeya from Kanauj, which according to Dr. K.M. Munshi,¹ 'with its look of benign dignity, is one of the noblest images of the deity to be discovered so far', also depicts the performance of the *abhiṣeka* of the god by Brahmā and Śiva. Dr. P.K. Agrawala² has also identified the figure on the left of Kārttikeya as Śiva. But according to Dr. B.N. Sharma,³ a minute observation of this figure would clearly reveal that it represents Viṣṇu and not Śiva, who besides wearing a *kiriṭamukuṣa* and *vanamālā*, also holds a *chakra* in his rear left hand, while his rear right is not visible. He carries a pot in his front hands. This identification is supported by almost a contemporary sculpture from Uttar Pradesh and now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi, wherein, the left side figure of Viṣṇu though headless, is also shown wearing an *ekāvalī* and a *vanamālā*. The statement is further corroborated by the *Śiva Purāṇa*,⁴ which clearly states that the Wise Hari (Viṣṇu) along with other gods had performed the *abhiṣeka* of Kumāra (Kārttikeya). Skanda is seated on his *vāhana* Paravāṇī, carrying a spear in his left hand. Devasenā and Vallī, the two consorts of the deity, flank him on either side. The sculpture can be dated to 7th-8th century A.D.

Kārttikeya makes his appearance in Orissa mainly in the rôle of a *parśva-devatā* on the body of the temples, though sometimes he is also to be seen amongst the decorative motifs. In the words of Mrs. Debala Mitra,⁵ his image, beginning with a two-armed variety, having only a spear or *mātuluṅga* (citron) as the attributes, crystallised into a four-armed one with both the left hands touching a cock and one of the right carrying a spear. The images of Kārttikeya, therefore, can broadly be divided into two distinct classes, on the basis of the absence or the presence of the figure of the cock. In the former class, the deity (without cock) is represented either seated or standing with a spear and a *vīja-pūraka* in his hands, his head-dress being distinguished by the *śikhaṇḍaka* type of coiffure.⁶ The seated variety shows the deity either riding his mount or enthroned on a low-footed stool with the figure of the peacock carved below; while the standing variety has the mount shown on the pedestal.⁷ The two-armed Kārttikeya in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswara (c. 650 A.D.) is shown seated on a low-footed stool with a long spear in his left hand and a *vīja-pūraka* in the right, his mount being carved on the pedestal as killing a serpent. A parasol over his head is decorated with streamers.⁸ The sculpture stuck to a later miniature temple presents one of the

1. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, p. 14, pl. 42.

2. Agrawala, P.K., *Skanda-Kārttikeya*, p. 89, pl. XVIII, fig. a.

3. Sharma, B.N., *Abhiṣeka in Indian Art*, *Journal of Oriental Institute*, XXI, 1 & 2, pp. 109-110, pl. II.

4. *Śiva Purāṇa*, *Rudra Saṁhitā*, IV, 5, 63.

5. Mitra, D., *Bhubaneswar*, p. 22.

6. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 127.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

8. Mitra, D., *Bhubaneswar*, p. 25, pl. III.A; Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, fig. 97.

variants in which the spear, instead of being actually held in the hand, is shown as supported on the pedestal.¹ An elaborate example of this type, fixed to a later shrine in the compound of the Līngarāja temple, depicts the god seated astride on the back of his mount with its tail feathers outspread at the back.² An interesting feature to be noted is that the deity is attended upon by two divinities, the one on the right being recognisable as Brahmā,³ whereas the other on the left, only partially represented with a halo behind, appears to be Śiva as indicated from his matted locks and as also found in earlier examples. The central figure apparently bears affinity to the Bhumerā example. In a miniature temple in the Yameśvara compound, the deity, presented in the standing variety, is distinguished by his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure and the peacock on the pedestal behind, with a *vīja-pūraka* in his right hand, but the *śakti*, his usual weapon, in the left hand is absent, instead the hand is kept on the waist (*kaṭyāvalambita*);⁴ while in the Uttareśvara example,⁵ the deity standing with his right hand resting on the waist, has a very long spear held in his left hand, a female to his left standing gracefully looking up to his face. The figure occupying the western niche of the temple 'is unique in having no figure of the peacock in association with the representation of the god'.⁶

Significant change is marked in the iconography of Class 2 images of Kārttikeya in which the deity is invariably shown associated with a cock, generally standing and four-armed, though two-armed and even seated varieties are not unknown. Kārttikeya with a cock as his emblem appears in Orissa for the first time on the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneśwara,⁷ where he is depicted as two-armed, seated with his right leg hanging down and the bird held in his left hand placed on his thigh, the right hand hanging down with the palm upturned and his peacock shown on the right. The two-armed figure of Kārttikeya from Puri⁸ (assigned to the 10th century A.D.) now added to the private collection in London is a typical example of the mediaeval art. The deity represented as standing in a slightly graceful bent pose has his left hand placed on a cock (partly broken) which is held upwards by a female attendant on the god's left side and his right hand which is broken possibly held his favourite weapon, the spear, the peacock with its head turned back striding to left. Several other sculptures as well represent Kārttikeya standing and in association with a cock, but in all these specimens he is endowed with four arms, differing from the preceding example mainly in respect of the objects held in them.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 128, fig. 95.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 128, fig. 96.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 128, fig. 98.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 93 and 157, fig. 99.

8. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 366, pl. XVII.1.

Kārttikeya in the Siddheśvara temple,¹ with his *śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure, is shown standing and four-armed, having both his left hands placed on the figure of the cock held up by a female standing gracefully to his left. In his front right hand, slightly upraised, he is carrying a spear (with its upper part broken), whereas his back right hand hanging down is held in the *varada* pose, with the peacock on his proper right side pecking the palm. Panigrahi² observes that in the four-armed specimens of the god, the *vīja-pūraka* and the *śakti* are both conspicuous by their absence. 'The hand which usually held the *vīja-pūraka* in the former class is shown in the *varada* pose, with the corresponding hand placed on a cock. Two additional hands in the specimens of this class show attributes such as *gadā* or *trīśūla* and *damaru*.³ It may, however, be pointed out that the object that appeared to Panigrahi as a mace is not fully preserved in the sculpture illustrated by him,⁴ its upper part being severely damaged. As such the object, instead of being regarded as a *gadā*, may appropriately be considered to be a spear, the favourite weapon of the god, and not a mace as suggested by Panigrahi. R.P. Chanda⁵ has also illustrated two exactly similar representations of the god, one from Bhubaneśwara⁶ and the other from Chauduar;⁷ but unfortunately both the right hands in the former case are missing, while the object in the front right hand of the latter too is considerably mutilated, but its trace left is apparently suggestive of it to be a spear and not a mace. In view of this, Panigrahi's suggestion that the god is not having his usual spear in Class 2 images does not seem acceptable. In another variety the four-armed deity in the Kapileśvara temple,⁸ differing from the preceding examples, has his front left hand embracing the cock held up by a lady (instead of simply placing his hand upon the bird) and the front right hand (not the back one) hanging down, kept in the *varada* pose at which the peacock on the right is pecking. The back right and the back left hands are holding a trident and a kettledrum respectively. A significant variety is also to be noticed in the *naṭamaṇḍapa* of the Liṅgarāja temple⁹ where he is shown with a sword, a kettledrum and a trident in three of his hands, and the remaining front left hand having an indistinct object which may be recognised as a crude representation of a cock.¹⁰

Stone images of Kārttikeya are extremely rare in Bengal and Assam. Very few of them found from these states,¹¹ belonging to the mediaeval period, usually repre-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 129, fig. 100.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

4. *Ibid.*, fig. 100.

5. *MAI-44*, pl. VIII, nos. 6 and 4.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII.6.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII.4.

8. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 129, fig. 101.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 129, fig. 102.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

11. Barua, B.K., *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 184, fig. 71 (Assam); Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 147, pl. LVII, a (Bengal).

sent the god in a manner as already noticed in the Gupta sculptures, i.e. usually two-armed with a spear in one of the hands and riding his mount, the peacock. A beautiful image of Kārttikeya from Dinajpur under the possession of the Department of Archaeology, West Bengal, Calcutta,¹ represents the god two-armed and single faced, seated on a highly stylised peacock with very attractive plumes. Both the arms of the god are unfortunately lost. The Indian Museum image from north Bengal² is, however, of great iconographic interest for it depicts the god four-armed. Elaborately sculptured, the deity is depicted as seated in the *mahārāja-līlā* pose on the back of his vehicle standing with its wings and plumes outspread on a double petalled lotus on a *saptaratha* pedestal. He is holding a spear in his back right hand and a *vīja-pūraka* in the front right one. Two *chauri*-bearing female figures standing gracefully on his either side are presumably his two consorts. According to N.G. Majumdar,³ 'the graceful attitude and feeling of calm repose as well as the dreamy eyes mark it out as a remarkable specimen among the products of the Bengal school of art'. Stylistically the image is assigned to the 12th century A.D.

Kārttikeya has very rarely been represented as dancing. In this connection mention may be made of an early mediaeval stone relief, assignable to c. 8th-9th century A.D., now studded into a step-well at Chhoti Khatau in the district of Nagaur, Rajasthan. It represents a six-headed and six-armed Kārttikeya dancing and feeding the peacock. The carving of five additional human heads on the top of the central head is of great iconographic interest. 'The relief thus depicts all the six heads of Śaṇmuka Skanda as on the early Yaudheya coins'.⁴

Representations of Kārttikeya as Brahmasāstā are of considerable iconographic interest. There is a remarkable sculpture of the Gurjara-Pratihāra period, datable in c. 8th century A.D., now preserved in the Gwalior Museum, representing Kārttikeya as the divine teacher, holding a manuscript in his upper right hand. He is holding some object, presumably a fruit, at which his mount, the peacock, is pecking with a great relish. While he is carrying a flower in his upper left hand, his lower left hand is pendant. His coiffure is tastefully arranged in the typical *śikhaṇḍaka* fashion and he puts on a number of ornaments. A female is standing nearby to his proper left with both her palms joined in *añjali-mudrā*. There is yet another equally interesting relief of the mediaeval period, datable in the 10th century A.D. and presently preserved in the Amber Museum, near Jaipur, which represents the three-headed Kārttikeya in his aspect as Brahmasāstā.⁵ The god carries a spear in the upper right hand and a manuscript in the upper left. His lower hands are damaged and so also is damaged the head of the peacock behind him. The *kākapakṣa*

1. *Ind. Arch.*, 1961-62, pl. CLIV, c.

2. *HBR*, I, p. 449, pl. XII.32.

3. *ASIAR*, 1934-35, p. 79, pl. XXIV, d.

4. *The Researcher*, XII-XIII, p. 18, pl. XV.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 17, pl. XIII.

hair of the god and the back of the bird helped in the proper identification of the three-headed deity as Brahmaśāstā Kārttikeya. It is an important mediaeval sculpture depicting Kārttikeya as a divine teacher.

To sum up, in the early centuries of the christian era, Kārttikeya is shown on the Audumbara and the Yaudheya coins as a warrior standing with a spear in his hand. He is also shown with six heads on the Yaudheya coins but having two arms only. The Kushan sculptures as well, belonging to the 1st-2nd century A.D., represent the god similarly with a spear in his hand, the right hand being displayed in the *varada* pose. Even the coins of Huvīṣka show similar features where Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena appear with a spear, besides having a banner topped by a bird, which, on the analogy of the Lala Bhagat Pillar and 'cock on the top of a post' on certain Ayodhya coins, may be taken as the figure of a cock. A stone sculpture of this period as well associates the bird with the god as an emblem held in his hand. A specimen of the latest Gandhāra art shows him with high boots on, thereby indicating him to be a solar deity. But in these representations, the peacock mount of the god is conspicuous by its absence. The bird, however, appears for the first time in association with the god on the Yaudheya coins assigned to the 3rd-4th century A.D. Kārttikeya is usually found seated on the back of his mount, the peacock, on the coins and in the sculptures of the Gupta period, holding a spear by his right hand and either exhibiting *varada* or *abhaya*-pose or feeding some fruit to the peacock by the right hand. Amongst other features of the god may be mentioned the *śikhanda* arrangement of his coiffure and his *ekāvalī* necklace hanging over his chest. In some sculptures (as in the Mathurā figure of the period), the deity is found anointed as the generalissimo of the gods by Brahmā and Śiva. Images of the god continue to be invested with similar features in the early mediaeval period. Figures of Kārttikeya from Orissa display two distinct types—with the cock and without the cock. In the latter type, as in the Gupta art, the deity sits on the back of his mount with a spear in one of his hands and exhibiting *varada* or *abhaya*-pose by the other. In another variety of this type, he is found also standing with his characteristic weapon (spear). But when displayed in association with the cock, he is usually standing with four arms, touching the cock which is held aloft by a female attendant by his two left hands and holding spear and exhibiting *varada* pose by the right; though a two-armed figure of this variety is also known from Purī. Mediaeval sculptures from Bengal also, like the Gupta examples, represent the god with two arms, seated on his peacock and holding spear in one of the hands and displaying *varada* or *abhaya*-pose by the other. A beautiful sculpture of the period in the Indian Museum, however, represents the god with four arms, with his special weapon in one of his hands.

As already stated, Kārttikeya (Subrahmaṇya) is one of the most popular deities in southern India. Gopinatha Rao has illustrated a number of images of Kārtti-

keya in his work on Hindu iconography. In most cases,¹ the god is endowed with four arms, carrying *śakti* and *vajra* in the back hands and displaying *varada* and *abhaya* poses by the front ones. Usually represented as standing, he is sometimes accompanied by his vehicle, the peacock, the figure of which has been shown behind him. In one instance,² he has a cock instead of the *vajra* in one of the back hands. In this regard, Banerjea's³ observation that 'if we compare this sculpture with the many south Indian bronze and stone images illustrating the various aspects of Subrahmaṇya reproduced by Rao, we cannot but be struck with the hieratic stiffness and heaviness of the latter, though a few of them, especially the earlier ones, are not devoid of some grace and beauty' is very apt. The fine Devasenā-kalyāṇasundara-mūrtti from Tirupparankunram,⁴ illustrating the marriage of Kārttikeya with Devasenā, is evidently based on the Kalyāṇasundara image of Śiva. No such examples are to be met with in the northern part of the country. So also the Tārkāri-Subrahmaṇya⁵ represented as attacking Tārakāsura has no counterpart in the north Indian images. Rao has also illustrated Kārttikeya having six heads and twelve arms with various weapons held by them.⁶ The north Indian Ṣaḍānana images of Kārttikeya have either two or four arms only. Earlier images of Kārttikeya are, however, unknown to the southern half of the subcontinent.

1. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, pls. CXXI-CXXIII, CXXV, CXXVI, 1.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. CXXIV.

3. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 367.

4. Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXIX.

5. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, pl. CXXVIII, a.

6. *Ibid.*, pls. CXXVII-CXXVIII.

BHAIRAVA

BHAIRAVA can best be described as one of those terrific (*ghōra* or *ugra*) forms of Śiva which have no connection whatsoever with any particular Paurāṇic story narrating his exploits. He is so called by virtue of his being protector of the universe (*bharaṇa*) and terrific in appearance (*bhīṣaṇa*). He is also known as Kālabhairava (for even Kāla, the Lord of Death trembles before him), Āmardaka (because he kills bad persons, *marddan*) and Pāpabhakṣaṇa (because he swallows the sins of his devotees). He is the Lord of the city of Kāśī and full form (*pūrṇa-rūpa*) of Śaṅkara according to *Śiva Purāṇa*.¹

Bhairava is also described as Brahmaśiraśchhedaka in some of the Purāṇas and the Āgamas.² The accounts of the *Varāha* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas*, which seek to explain this aspect of Śiva, materially differ. According to the former,³ Brahmā created Rudra and addressed him as Kāpālī. Being insulted, Śiva cut off the fifth head of his originator which unfortunately got stuck to his palm. It was, however, on Brahmā's advice that Śiva observed a Kāpālī's life for full twelve years at the end of which he visited Vārāṇasī where the skull got removed. The place where this incident seems to have taken place is still known as Kāpālamōchana in Banaras. The *Kūrma Purāṇa*,⁴ however, states that a dispute ensued between Brahmā and Śiva over the question as to who was the origin of the universe. Even though the Vedas declared Śiva to be the greatest of all the gods, Brahmā claimed this for himself. Just then a huge illumination appeared in space in which could be discerned the figure of Śiva, by whose order Bhairava cut off the fifth head of Brahmā. Thus both the versions of the stories allude to the cutting of one of the heads of the polycephalous Brahmā for his alleged sins and iniquities. Banerjea⁵ has, however, rightly observed that there is hardly any tangible connection between the varying myths and the iconic types.

The *Śrītattvanidhi*⁶ mentions that the figure of this aspect of Śiva (i.e. the Brahmaśiraśchhedakamūrti) should be white in complexion, having three eyes and

1. Rao, *EHI*, II, i, pp. 176-77.

2. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 465.

3. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-75.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76.

5. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

6. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

four arms, carrying *vajra* and *paraśu* in right hands and skull (of *Brahmā*) and *śūla* in the left. The figure should have a *jaṭāmukuta* over the head and *kuṇḍalas* (*patra* and *nakra*) in the ears. The deity should also be draped in garments of tiger's skin.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*'s¹ account of Bhairava is typical. According to this work, Bhairava should have a flabby-belly, round yellow eyes, side tusks and wide nostrils. He should be wearing a garland of skulls and adorned with snake ornaments. He should be as dark as the rain cloud, with his garment resembling the colour of elephant's skin. He should be possessed of several arms, decorated with all sorts of weapons and should be represented as frightening *Pārvatī* with a snake. Hemādri's² description of Bhairava is much similar. Accordingly he should possess a grim face with protruding teeth, a pot belly, a garland of skulls and serpents as ornaments. He has plaited hairs and several hands.

Rao³ has described three different forms of Bhairava :— (i) *Baṭuka-Bhairava*, (ii) *Svarṇākaraṣaṇa-Bhairava*, and (iii) *64-Bhairavas*.

Baṭuka-Bhairava, as pointed out by Banerjea,⁴ is the particular type usually found in the northern part of the country. He is described as nude, terrific in appearance, with protruding fangs, rolling and round eyes, his hands holding objects like a sword, a *khaṭvāṅga*, a *śūla* or a *kāpāla*, usually wearing wooden sandals and often shown accompanied by a dog.⁵ In the *Baṭuka Bhairava Kalpa*⁶ also he is mentioned as stark naked and riding upon a dog. He is further said to have *jaṭās* of red colour, three eyes and a red body, carrying a *śūla*, a *pāśa*, a *ḍamaru* and a *kāpāla* in his hands and surrounded by a host of demons on all sides. The *Rūpamaṇḍana*,⁷ however, provides him as many as eight arms, having *khaṭvāṅga*, *pāśa*, *śūla*, *ḍamaru*, *kāpāla* and a snake in six of them, a piece of flesh in one of the remaining hands and the other held in the *abhaya* pose. This work also provides the deity with a dog of the same colour as its master.

The *Śāradātilakatantra*⁸ mentions three different kinds of images of *Baṭuka-Bhairava*—(i) the *Sātvika*, (ii) the *Rājasika* and (iii) the *Tāmasika*. The *Sātvika* image, said to prevent unnatural death, is to show the god young in appearance, with joyful face, fair hairs, beautiful ornaments, a pleasant expression, and carrying

1. *Ibid.*, p. 177; *Viṣṇudh.*, Bk. III, ch. 59.

2. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Indian Images*, I.

3. Rao, *EHI*, II, i, pp. 177 ff.

4. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 466.

6. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

8. *Śāradātilakatantra*, ch. 20, p. 59 (R.M. Chatterji's edn.); Bhattasali, N.K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 133.

in his two hands the trident and the staff.¹ The Rājasika image, which satisfies all desires, should show him like the resplendent sun, adorned with a blood-red garment, having smiling face and wearing an elephant's skin, the four hands carrying trident, skull, boon and protection by them.² The Tāmasika image, which subdues enemies and scares away supernatural beings, is to represent him like a blue mountain, naked, with a garland of skulls, holding in his eight hands, kettledrum, goad, sword, lasso, protection, snake, bell, and skull, with snakes as ornaments and terrific fangs.³ The text is, however, silent with regard to the vehicle of the god.

Svarṇākaraṣaṇa-Bhairava, according to the *Śrītattvanidhi*,⁴ should have an yellow-coloured body, with four arms and three eyes and should be clothed in yellow garments. He should be adorned with all kinds of ornaments and be praised by all gods. The appearance of the god should be suggestive of perfect happiness coupled with masterful authoritativeness. He should be carrying in his hands a vessel filled with gold and precious gems, a *chāmara* and a *tōmara*, and a large *śūla* should be resting upon the shoulder.

Besides the above two forms, as many as sixty-four Bhairavas, divided in eight groups of eight each, headed by Asitāṅga, Ruru, Chaṇḍa, Krōdha, Unmatta, Kāpāla, Bhiṣaṇa and Saṁhāra respectively have been enumerated in the *Rudra-Yāmala*.⁵ They are :—

(A) Asitāṅga, Viśālākṣa, Mārttaṇḍa, Mōdakprīya, Svachchhanda, Vighna-santuṣṭa, Khēchara and Sacharāchara. These are of golden complexion, having good-looking limbs, with *trīśūla*, *ḍamaru*, *pāśa* and *khaḍga* in the hands.

(B) Ruru, Krōḍadamstra, Jaṭādhara, Viśvarūpa, Virūpākṣa, Nānārūpadhara, Vajrahasta and Mahākāya. These are of pure white colour, adorned with ornaments set with rubies, having *akṣamālā*, *aṅkuśa*, *pustaka* and *viṇā* in the hands.

(C) Chaṇḍa, Pralayāntaka, Bhūmi-kampa, Nīlakaṇṭha, Viṣṇu, Kulapālaka, Muṇḍapāla and Kāmapāla. These are of blue colour with good looks, having *agni*, *śakti*, *gadā* and *kuṇḍa* in the hands.

(D) Krōdha, Piṅgalēkṣaṇa, Abhrarūpa, Dharapāla, Kuṭila, Mantranāyaka, Rudra, Pitāmaha. These are of smoke colour, having *khaḍga*, *khēṭaka*, a long sword and *paraśu* in the hands.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

4. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-82.

(E) Unmatta, Vaṭukanāyaka, Śaṅkara, Bhūta-vēṭāla, Tṛṇētra, Tṛpurāntaka, Varada and Parvatāvāsa. These are of white colour with good looks and having *kuṇḍa*, *khēṭaka*, *parigha* (a kind of club) and *bhīṇḍipāla* in the hands.

(F) Kāpāla, Śaśibhūṣaṇa, Hasticharmāmbaradhara, Yōgīśa, Brahmarākṣasa, Sarvajña, Sarvadēvēśa and Sarvabhūtaḥḍisthita. These are of yellow colour with weapons as in the hands of the gods included in Group E.

(G) Bhīṣaṇa, Bhayahara, Sarvajña, Kālāgni, Mahāraudra, Dakṣiṇa, Mukhara and Asthira. These are of red colour with weapons as in the hands of the gods included in Group E.

(H) Saṁhāra, Atiriktāṅga, Kālāgni, Pṛyaṅkara, Ghōranāda, Viśālākṣa, Yōgīśa and Dakṣasamsthita. These are of the colour resembling the lightning with weapons as in the hands of the gods included in Group E.

The sculptural representations of Bhairava, which reveal the terrific aspect of Śiva without illustrating any particular mythology, are, however, not many in northern India. One of the highly remarkable figures of Bhairava from Khitching¹ (Orissa), belonging to the early mediaeval period, depicts the many-armed deity standing in a *dvibhaṅga* pose on a double petalled lotus, with a male and a female attendant standing gracefully on his either side. The god has staring eyes and open mouth showing fangs. He is moustached and bearded with his head adorned with well arranged rows of *jaṭās*. Though most of his hands are missing, yet two of the objects held in them, a kettledrum and a trident, are clearly recognisable. He has also a few ornaments decorating his body tastefully. According to Banerjea,² 'the general treatment of the sculpture appears to show that the artist in a very skilful way wanted to emphasise the innate pacific character of this terrific aspect of the god'.

Such a *sātvika* character of the god is also reflected in a four-armed figure of the mediaeval period in the Indian Museum at Calcutta³ which represents the deity without garments but with his locks of hair (*jaṭā*) arranged in a circle (*maṇḍala*). He is shown wearing a garland of skulls and carrying a *śūla*, a *khaḍga*, a *pāśa* and a *kāpāla* in his hands. He is terrific in appearance and also accompanied by a dog.

The image of the god belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society⁴ is much similar to the preceding one, the only difference being that while in the Indian Museum image the face of the god is lit with smile, in the former there is a scorpion attached as a *lāñchhana* (mark) on the front face of the pedestal.

1. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 481, pl. XXXV.3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 481.

3. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79, pl. XLII.1.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. XLII.3.

The miniature burnt clay image of Baṭuka-Bhairava under the possession of the Dacca Museum¹ bears a partial resemblance to the Indian Museum² figure, though it has not all the detailed features of the latter present in it. The Dacca Museum figure depicts the god with a flabby belly and a long garland of skulls. Flames are shown issuing out of its head. The eyes of the deity are round and rolling and the lips are parted in a horrible smile. Of the four hands, the front right is broken, the back right holds a sword, the back left a *khaṭvāṅga* or *śūla* and the front left a *kāpāla*. The figure is, however, neither naked nor wearing any wooden sandal. Even the dog is absent. The small size of the figure may have been responsible for some of the omissions.

Banerjea remarks,³ 'if we compare this graceful creation of the Orissan artist (i.e. the Khitching image) with the many-armed Bhairava in the Asutosh Museum of the late mediaeval period, hailing from N. Bengal (now Bangladesh), we cannot but realise the great ideological difference in representing the same theme by two different artists of eastern India'. The face of the dire god in the Asutosh Museum is badly damaged, but many weapons of destruction held by some of his far-flung arms, the *śūla* in his front right hand piercing the breast of the supine figure on which he stands in the *ālīḍha* pose, the miniature figures of the two uncouth attendants, one a plump and pot-bellied male and the other a lean and emaciated female in swiftly moving *atibhaṅga* pose on either side, the long garland made up of skulls and bones etc.—all these features help to create an atmosphere of unmitigated terror.

A loose sculpture from the Muṇḍeśvarī temple in the Bhojpur district of Bihar, belonging to the post-Gupta period, represents Bhairava standing on the back of a crouching human figure. He is four-armed holding a rosary in the front right hand and a skull-topped *khaṭvāṅga* somewhat damaged in the upraised back left hand. The back right hand is placed on the waist, while the front right hand appears to be holding a flower-like object. There is a plain halo behind the head of the god. He is ithyphallus and puts on a number of ornaments. He is, however, depicted not as much terrific as is usually done, rather there is serene repose on his face. His face is neither hideous-looking nor there are protruding fangs and skull-garland. He is also slim bodied. There are two attendants, each standing on his either side reverentially. The sculpture is damaged at the right top corner.

The figure of Bhairava from Kauśāmbī in the Allahabad Museum is in a much better state of preservation.⁴ The figure is carved out of buff coloured sandstone. The god is represented standing slightly in the *tr̥bhaṅga* pose with the lower left

1. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 134, pl. LIII, a.

2. *HBR*, I, p. 446.

3. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 482, pl. XXXV.4.

4. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 141, pl. CXXXVIII.401.

hand placed on the hip. He holds a skull-cup, a kettledrum and a trident in the remaining three hands. He has bulging eyes with incised lids and brows, an open mouth showing fanged teeth, a beard and short moustaches. On the right side of the shoulder may be seen a cobra's head. The dress and ornaments include a necklace, three strands of beads and a large foliated pendant and has two rows of curls. The roughly carved halo has a plain centre followed by a band of lotus petals and a coral jewelled cable. There are two small attendants on either side, one male and the other a female. The woman, who is the larger of the two figures, carries a pot while the man has two indistinguishable objects. The sculpture is dated in about the 9th century A.D.

The four-armed image of Bhairava illustrated by Barua¹ is shown without garments, with a flabby belly, a long skull-garland and flames issuing out of his head and holding *khaṭvāṅga*, *śūla*, *gadā* and skull-cup. He is depicted as standing on a prostrate body, giving the god a ferocious form.

Another interesting rock-cut figure from the Kāmakhya hill (Assam) shows Bhairava eight-handed and dancing, locally known as Bāla-Bhairava.² In this example too, Bhairava strides over a prostrate person and wears a garland of skulls, his hair being arranged in a double circle of ringlets.

The figure of Bhairava on the Kandariya Mahādeva temple³ in high relief represents the deity standing, carrying in his four hands skull-cup, *damaru*, *khaṭvāṅga* and probably a *śūla*. He wears a crown with a skull and two serpents as his ornaments.

The figure of Bhairava from Sarnath⁴ belonging to the mediaeval period rides a dog. He wears a high-peaked head-dress and holds a mace in the right hand and a skull-cup in the left. A reddish sandstone slab from Banaras,⁵ assignable to c. 10th-11th century A.D., is divided into two compartments by a tree. The figure of Bhairava standing to the right of the tree is seen holding a staff crowned by a skull (*khaṭvāṅga*). To the left is a votary performing *ārati* by ringing a bell with his left hand and waving a lamp with the right. A dwarf child stands between the two figures in an attitude of worship. The four-armed figure of Baṭuka-Bhairava hailing from Banaras⁶ represents the god youthful, wearing a skull-garland and a skull-girdle. He is shown advancing to the left with a dog licking at the severed head held by his front right hand, his three other hands carrying a sword, a bell, and a trident. With regard to this sculpture, Banerjea⁷ has aptly observed :

1. Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 40, fig. 40.

2. ASIAR, 1930-34, p. 129, pl. LXIII, a.

3. Gangoly, O.C., *The Art of the Chandelas*, p. 33, pl. 11.

4. ASIAR, 1907-08, p. 49, no. 190, fig. 5; Sahni, D.R., *Cat. of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 167.

5. ASIAR, 1928-29, p. 131, pl. LIII, c.

6. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 482, fig. XXXV.1.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 482.

'Though the artist's attempt to emphasise the terrific aspect of the god seems to be a bit half-hearted here, yet this very late sculpture...has a character of its own'.

There is a very interesting figure of Bhairava from Modi in Malwa¹ carved on a rectangular slab. The deity is shown naked and standing on the sandals. Of the twelve hands of the god, only four are more or less intact, carrying a drum and a *paṭṭiśa* (or *śūla*) resting behind the shoulder in the right hands. One of the left hands carries a shield. Flames are seen rising from the *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, hair being arranged in a circle and tied with a hooded snake. He wears a garland of skulls and possesses a fine beard and moustaches upturned. To his left is a devotee standing, who may as well be regarded as a *piśācha*, the figure being wholly mutilated. In the lower corner to the right is a partially broken figure of a dog. The figure of the god is ascribed to the 11th-12th century A.D.

The figure of Bhairava from Jamsot in the Allahabad Museum,² carved out of buff coloured sandstone, has been shown standing with the lower portion of the legs having been broken. The god holds a bowl in the lower left hand, a skull-topped *khaṭvāṅga* with its shaft damaged in the lower left hand and a snake-like object in the upper left hand, the upper right hand being damaged. The face of the god sports a beard and moustaches and his mouth is wide open. The human skulls on the *khaṭvāṅga* and atop the head of the god bare their teeth in demoniac laughter. The sculpture is dated in c. 12th century A.D.

Mention may be made of two sculptures from Bihar, both representing Śiva in his fiercer aspect as Bhairava. Both the sculptures are almost perfectly intact and preserve all their iconographic features. The archaeological section of the Patna Museum is in possession of one of the two nicely preserved sculptures, which on stylistic ground can be dated in the Pāla period in c. 10th-12th century A.D. Carved out of black basalt, the sculpture in the form of a stela, somewhat conical at the top with a *pañcharatha* pedestal, represents the deity standing on a double petalled lotus in *trībhāṅga* pose with his head tilted to the left. Possessed of four arms, the deity carries a skull-cup on the palm of the main right hand brought to the level of the chest and grasps a sufficiently long trident by its shaft by the main left hand supported on the left shoulder. He holds an unsheathed double-edged long sword (*khaḍga*) by its hilt in his back right hand, while the object displayed in his back left hand is too indistinct to be made anything out of it. The deity who is endowed with a hideous face has large round rolling eyes bulging out of their sockets. He has beard and moustaches neatly plaited on both the sides of the cheeks. He has also the mark of the third eye shown vertically on the forehead. A human

1. *Journal of Indian Museums*, XI, 1955, p. 47.

2. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*.

skull appears to be tucked up into the headgear, whereas flames rising out of the head take the place of the coiffure (*jaṭāmukuta*) in the form of a *maṇḍala*. Disproportionately large teeth of the deity are visible out of his parted lips. He puts on a large garland from which a number of human heads are found hanging. Flames have been shown issuing not only from the head but also on the sides of the stela on three sides of the deity converging at the top. All these would suggest that an attempt has been made to represent the fierce deity more fiercer. To accentuate the ferocity of the deity, he has been provided not only with a garland of skulls, but also with flames rising from his head and on the sides of his body. A miniature male attendant, practically nude save a very abbreviated loin-cloth, to his proper right is shown dancing on a separate plain cubical pedestal. He too is hideous looking, bearded and moustached, with his hair arranged into a *jaṭā*. He has been shown devoid of flesh with toothless jaws, sunken cheeks and eyes deep set in their coterie. Chest bones, veins and sinews of the attendant are also clearly visible. A devotee with his palms joined in *añjali mudrā* has been shown to the right of the lotus pedestal. The exact findspot of the sculpture is though not known, yet it is fairly reported to have been obtained from somewhere near Monghyr.

There is another equally interesting sculpture, rather even more than that, under the possession of Mahashaya Mahesh Ghosh of Bhagalpur. Installed in the family temple of Mahashaya Ghosh, the deity is regularly given a ceremonious bath, painted with colours, vermilion and sandal paste, draped by fine textured silk cloth, and worshipped daily with due devotion. What particularly renders the sculpture of special interest is that it appears more or less a lithic copy of the Pāla sculpture just discussed, the two tallying in their minute details. Like the Monghyr sculpture, the sculpture in the family temple of Mahashayaji represents the deity standing in *trībhāṅga* pose with a skull-cup and a trident in his right and left hands. He is also characterised by flabby belly, large rolling eyes, plaited beard and moustaches, mark of the third eye, a skull tucked up into the headgear, flames rising above the head in the form of a circle (*maṇḍala*) and a large garland of skulls. Surprisingly enough, even ornaments over the chest, on the arms and around the waist closely resemble in the two sculptures. Moreover, the way in which the skull-cup is held in the right hand and the trident in the left hand is quite similar to each other. There are, however, certain differences as well between the two sculptures. The first notable difference is that while the former has four arms, the latter has only two arms. The second remarkable difference lies in the presence of the back slab in the first sculpture, while in the second it is conspicuous by its absence. The third difference that attracts our notice concerns with the number of the attendant figures which is only one in the former and two in the latter sculpture. In the Bhagalpur sculpture, the deity is attended upon by a male and a female attendant. The attendant to his proper right is an old bearded Rṣi scantily dressed, whereas the attendant to his left is a female *chauri*-bearer holding the flywhisk in her uplifted right hand while her

left hand is placed on the waist. The fourth difference between the two sculptures is that while there is a devotee offering worship to the deity in the former example, no such devotee can be seen in the latter. And lastly, a few snakes have been shown in the ear-ornaments and either side of the head, besides the *yajñopavīta* in the form of a snake in the Bhagalpur sculpture, but there are no such snakes in the former example. The second sculpture, on account of the absence of the stela and also on account of the general heaviness of the style, can be dated later than the first sculpture and may be placed in late 12th century A.D. But in spite of all these differences, the second sculpture is undoubtedly a remarkable piece, which even on a cursory glance appears to have been modelled on the first sculpture or similar such sculpture of the Pāla period.

A well preserved sculpture belonging to the 12th century A.D. represents Bhairava standing on the crouching figure of a male person, placing his legs on his head and bent leg. The deity, who is four-armed, is holding a skull-cup by his left hand brought near his chest and grasping a long trident resting on the ground by his back left hand, there being a skull tucked up into the trident and another skull balanced on its prongs. The objects held in the two right hands of the god are, however, indistinguishable. The deity is characterised by features like flabby body, pot belly, hideous face, large teeth visible out of parted lips, large eyes bulging out of their sockets, protruding fangs of the teeth, mark of the third vertical eye, snake ornaments and snake *yajñopavīta*, flames of fire issuing out of the head and flames encircling the upper part of the slab forming halo on the three upper sides of the god. All these features of the sculpture clearly mark it out to be a wonderful creation of the mediaeval Indian art.

The Gaya Museum is in possession of a very interesting and fine piece of sculpture representing Bhairava which belongs to the Pāla period.¹ Carved out of black chlorite in the form of a stela with its upper portion somewhat rounded, the sculpture represents the ten-armed deity facing to front on a full-blown lotus resting on the back of a human figure crouching below on the pedestal. By his uppermost right and left hands, the deity is holding up a long heavy whip-like object over his head. In his second right hand, he holds a sword (*khaḍga*), in the third right hand a cup made of human skull, while in the fourth and the fifth right hands he grasps a trident just below its three prongs with a severed human head balanced over it and a battle-axe by its handle respectively. In the second left hand, he carries a *khaṭvāṅga* (of which the human head attached to its upper end is entirely smashed). In the third left hand, he holds a rosary, while he holds a shield and a kettledrum in the fourth and the fifth left hands. The god has a hideous looking face with parted lips and staring eyes rolling in the sockets. He has also a third eye over the forehead. His

1. Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume, pp. 286-90.

hair gathered over the head is arranged in a massive *jaṭā*. He puts on a *yajñopavīta* decorated with a snake near the chest and a garland of two bands showing human skulls interwoven into it at regular intervals. He also puts on a tiger-skin secured in position by a waist-band, through which his membrum virile standing quite erect is visible. The head of a stout dog is carved in the lower left field of the stela just above one of the folded legs of the human figure crouching below. Two miniature figures, a male and a female, evidently of devotees, the former offering prayer and pouring down something into an earthen jar before him and the latter playing on cymbals with enthusiasm, are shown seated above the crouching figure on the either side of the deity. The Gaya Museum sculpture, however, is not an ordinary representation of Bhairava. The piece is rather more individualised by the manner in which the god is depicted on a fully expanded lotus placed over the back of a crouching human figure. This point becomes quite clear from the manner in which his legs have been exhibited. Both the legs of the deity are distended sideways with the right foot planted and the left one raised in such a way that only its toes touch the lotus. Such steppings of dances are found represented not only in the dancing images of Śiva, but also in the images of various other deities.¹ It is, however, a fact that the dancing images of the gods, besides the movements of the legs, also reveal simultaneous movements of other limbs. Particularly the dancing aspect of the figures is emphasised by the movement of the hands, which is conspicuous by its absence in the present specimen. But the god is shown dancing very lightly in the Gaya Museum sculpture. It is not the cosmic dance of Śiva that the sculptor has aimed at in the representation of Bhairava. In this connection, there is, however, one point of great import which cannot be lost sight of. Like the dancing image of Śiva at the British Museum in London² showing the god holding up over his head a pair of cobras in order to balance the body during the dance, the present sculpture also shows heavy whip-like object passing over the head of the deity and held in the two uppermost raised hands in identical manner evidently with the same purpose. It is thus not a vigorous dance of Śiva, not his *tāṇḍava-nṛtta*, which has been given a visual form in the present piece, but the dance of a Yogin dancing lightly on the back of the Apsamāra-puruṣa with innate peace and deep calm reflected on the smiling face of Bhairava. The crouching figure below also shares in the deep repose of the god with a free and frank smile which lits up his face.

There is yet another sculpture of considerable interest in the Patna Museum representing the dire god Bhairava standing and holding an unsheathed sword pointing downward in his left hand and a lighted torch with flames rising from it by his

1. Cf. Banerjee, J.N., *op. cit.*, pls. XXXVI and XXXVII (for dancing images of Śiva) and Bhattasali, N.K., *op. cit.*, pl. LVI, a (for dancing image of Gaṇeśa).
2. Chanda, R.P., *Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. XXIII.

right hand. The god has been depicted somewhat emaciated with his face lit up with faint smile. He has his hair arranged in curled locks and has also a beard and moustaches. There is a circular *tilaka* mark on his forehead. His chin is comparatively very much pointed. Differing greatly from the Kirāḍu sculpture with regard to the number of hands the god has and the weapons he possesses in them, the Patna Museum sculpture, however, tallies with it in one main respect in having an additional leg to the god. There is, however, difference in the disposition of the third leg. Unlike the Kirāḍu sculpture, the Patna Museum sculpture represents the god standing on all the three legs. The representation of Bhairava thus in the Patna Museum is a unique one, presenting him in the form of Atiriktāṅga-Bhairava. This sculpture as well on stylistic ground can be assigned a very late date to about 14th-15th century A.D.

The Museum at Patna has recently acquired a highly interesting but at the same time problematic stone sculpture which was retrieved from the bed of river Barakar, at a distance of nearly 50 kms. from Dhanbad in Bihar.¹ A rounded stela, it represents a four-armed male deity standing within a trefoil niche with the *śikhara* and the *kalaśa* of a temple forming a canopy over it. The four-armed god standing to front in the *abhaṅga* pose puts on a cupola-like head-dress to which creeper-like objects are attached on both the sides. Somewhat bulging eyes cast downwards, prominent nose, bushy eyebrows, wide mouth and deep moustaches render his appearance terrific. His all the four hands are adorned with armlets and bangles. He holds a sword and an arrow in the left and a bow and a long trident in the right hands respectively. His body displays a number of ornaments including necklaces of three different sizes and heavy pendants in the ears. The lower garment of the god resembles very much with a Burmese *loongi* coming down a little above the knees with decorated flap. A long ribbon (*udarabandha*) is tied above his navel portion, the knot of which is clearly discernible. The central figure is attended upon by two miniature male attendants shown standing on his either side. One of the attendants to his right is holding a sword and a trident, while the other to his left is holding a sword and a shield. The sculpture has, however, not yet been precisely identified, although there can be hardly any doubt as to the Śaivite character of the deity which is fully established by the presence of the trident in his front left hand. The presence of the trident in the hand of the god along with his having been rendered terrific in appearance may make it more than probable that the deity represented is no other than Bhairava himself. There is, however, no representation of his mount the dog nor there is even the garland of skulls worn by him. Moreover, the presence of the bow and arrow in the hands of the god makes his identification enigmatical. Anyway, the attendants on his either side are also of Śaivite character as one of them too has been shown carrying a trident. In view of all these, the sculpture may be ten-

1. *JBRs*, Vol. L, pp. 48-49, pl. II.

tatively identified to be that of Bhairava. Stylistically, the sculpture, carved out of dark slate stone, may be assigned to the 14th-15th century A.D.

There is a curious stone image of Bhairava on a hillock facing the Kirāḍu temple in the Jodhpur division of the Rājasthān State.¹ Represented as standing, Bhairava has his two legs kept erect and he wears wooden sandals. What is of particular interest is that the god has a third leg which touches the thigh of the left leg. Behind the deity is to be seen the figure of a dog, evidently his vehicle. The deity has a grinning face with lips parted and teeth protruding. He has also a canopy of a three-hooded snake over his head. He has eight hands, out of which the front right holds a dagger and the front left a skull-bowl, besides a sword, a *damaru* etc. in the other hands. A garland of human skulls hangs upto the shin-bones of the leg. The figure, assignable to the 15th century A.D., as it appears from the inscription, may be taken to be the Atiriktāṅga form of Bhairava on account of the figure having been provided with a third leg.

Thus Bhairava, one of the most terrific aspects of Śiva, is usually represented in the north Indian art as having a hideous face with side fangs and holding several weapons of destruction in his hands. To add to the ferocity of the god, his person is adorned with a garland of human skulls and snake ornaments and he is made to carry a severed human head and a skull-bowl in his hands. In some of the sculptures Bhairava is made to stand upon a human figure lying or crouching underneath, which also adds greatly to the terrific nature of the deity. In order to emphasise his ferocity, sometimes flames are actually shown rising from his head or shoulders. In accordance with the texts, the vehicle of Baṭuka Bhairava is a dog, which animal is sometimes found associated with the deity and usually shown standing behind its master. Even the Banaras figure in which 'artist's attempt to emphasise the terrific aspect of the god seems to be a half-hearted', is provided with a skull-garland, a skull-girdle and a severed head in one of his hands with a dog licking at it. The Kirāḍu figure of Bhairava representing the god with three legs, and hence identified with the Atiriktāṅga form of the god, is unique as no other representation of the god showing his this form is known from the northern half of the subcontinent.

Gopinatha Rao has illustrated three figures of Bhairava belonging to southern India, one from Pattiśvaram,² the other from the Madras Museum³ and the third from Ellorā.⁴ In all these representations, as is the case with the north Indian figures of Bhairava, the artists' main concern was obviously to represent the god in as

1. *IHQ*, vol. XXXI, 1955, p. 47; *Journal of Indian Museums*, vol. X, 1954, pp. 23-24.

2. Rao, *EHI*, II, i, pl. XLI (Baṭuka-Bhairava with his dog).

3. *Ibid.*, pl. XLII. 2.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII (Atiriktāṅga-Bhairava with three legs).

terrific a manner as was possible within their power to bring about his ferocious nature. To emphasise this aspect of the god, Bhairava has been invested with features much akin to those found in his north Indian representations. The Ellorā figure¹ representing the Atirikāṅga form of Bhairava has the emaciated figure of Kālī near the foot of the god and 'round him are a number of blood-thirsty goblins and on his right stands a Brāhmaṇa votary with his hands held in the *añjali* pose'.² This figure, executed with considerable skill, is comparatively more successful in creating the atmosphere of ferociousness than the one from Kirāḍu in northern India.

ELORĀHARA, as the name indicates, represents a fusion of two great gods—Vāg and Śiva. There appears to be no mythology whatsoever connected with this curious aspect of the god; but the circumstances which led to the fusion of the Great Two into one is not difficult to visualise. There are evidences, literary as well as archaeological, which are quite explicit on the point that antipathy and rivalry did exist between the members of the different sects. The unmitigated sectarian rivalry and outcastes is clearly reflected in the representations of Śiva in the form of 'Śaṣṭhaṭha' punishing Viśvama and in the Ekagrade Triṣūṇa of Śiva or in Vagavān's counterpart, Śiva or Vāg occupying the central position, Brahmā being invariably shown as a lateral creature in the attitude of bowing to the central deity.³ But evidences are not wanting which prove quite conclusively that sincere efforts were being made for bringing about rapprochement and reconciliation between the members of the rival sects, even from a very early period when some of them had not come into being, and others that had originated were being systematised.⁴ The famous couplet of the Turgidānāyaṇa in the *Ṛg-veda*, towards which Benares⁵ has drawn our attention, beautifully expresses the sentiment that the one eternally existing principle could be called in various ways, though the names denoting the principle could be different. The sentiment, although expressed in the context of Śūrya, holds good with its later period with regard to other divinities. The pronouncement of the *Haridotsa* that 'Vāg is Śiva, Śiva is Brahmā, Śaṅga is the form, These are the gods' illustrates characteristically the belief that the different gods are but the different aspects or names of the Absolute One. The same sentiment is reflected in the *Vāgdeva Purāṇa* wherein Vāg is reported to have said to a Rṣi that he and Śiva were one and that in him resides Śiva also and manifested himself to the Rṣi in this dual aspect of his.⁶ Amongst various other reasons that promoted liberal religious outlook and full appreciation

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, p. 484.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

1. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

3. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, p. 484.

4. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, p. 484.

5. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, p. 484.

6. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, p. 484.

HARIHARA

HARIHARA, as the name indicates, represents a fusion of two great gods—Viṣṇu and Śiva. There appears to be no mythology whatsoever connected with this curious aspect of the god; but the circumstance which led to the fusion of the Great Two into one is not difficult to visualise. There are evidences, literary as well as archaeological, which are quite explicit on the point that animosity and rivalry did exist between the members of the different sects. The unmitigated sectarian rivalry and bitterness is clearly reflected in the representations of Śiva in the form of Śarabheśa¹ punishing Nṛsimha and in the Ekapāda Trimūrti of Śiva or its Vaiṣṇava counterpart, Śiva or Viṣṇu occupying the central position, Brahmā being invariably shown as a lateral accretion in the attitude of bowing to the central deity.² But evidences are not wanting which prove quite conclusively that sincere efforts were being made for bringing about rapprochement and reconciliation between the members of the rival sects, 'even from a very early period when some of them had not come into being, and others that had originated were being systematised'.³ The famous couplet of the Dīrghātmās hymn in the *R̥g-veda*, towards which Banerjea⁴ has drawn our attention, beautifully expresses the sentiment that the one eternally existing principle could be called in various ways,⁵ though the names denoting the principle could be different. The sentiment, although expressed in the context of Sūrya, holds good even in later period with regard to other divinities. The pronouncement of the *Harivaṃśa*⁶ that 'Viṣṇu is Śiva, Śiva is Brahmā, Single is the form, Three are the gods' illustrates characteristically the belief that the different gods are but the different aspects or names of the Absolute One. The same sentiment is reflected in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*⁷ wherein 'Viṣṇu is reported to have said to a Ṛṣi that he and Śiva were one and that in him resides Śiva also and manifested himself to the Ṛṣi in this dual aspect of his'. Amongst various other reasons that promoted liberal religious outlook and cult syncretism,

1. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 486.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 519.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 540.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 540.

5. *RV*, 1, 164, 46 (*ekaṃ sat viprā bahudhā vadanti*).

6. *Harivaṃśa*, 10660 f.

7. Rao, *EHI*, II, i, p. 332.

according to Banerjea,¹ 'may be reckoned the spread of the Vedāntic teachings, the writings of the Smṛtis which did not advocate the cause of any cult in particular, rather helped in the evolution of a kind of worship what is described as the Pañchāyatana Pūja, and the immigration of the Scythians, the Parthians and the Kuṣāṇas who paid equal veneration to the gods and the goddesses of different creeds, their eclectic tendency being evidenced by the figures of deities belonging to different pantheons used as reverse motifs on the coins issued by alien rulers like Kaniṣka and Huviṣka'. Again an adept in the Vedānta was not obliged to subordinate Viṣṇu to Śiva or Śiva to Viṣṇu; he could, if he chose, see the only being in the both.² Bhartṛhari,³ himself a Śaivaite, has exclaimed in favour of 'one god, Śiva or Viṣṇu'. Abhinavagupta, also a Śaivaite, has commented upon the *Bhagvadgītā*, the gospel of lord Kṛṣṇa.⁴ Śaṅkara, who appears to have inclined rather to Viṣṇuism, is claimed alike by the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas.⁵ Besides, Śiva is regarded as a form of Viṣṇu or Viṣṇu that of Śiva in several of the Purāṇas. Images of Harihara, therefore, clearly represent the efforts that were being made for bringing about reconciliation and rapprochement between the followers of the different cults⁶ and illustrates a combination of the two divinities, Viṣṇu (Hari) and Śiva (Hara), the former almost always occupying the left (i.e. the female) half and the latter, the right (i.e. the male) half. According to Banerjea,⁷ this may have hidden allusion to the Paurāṇic story of Viṣṇu's assumption of the female form of Mohini (the enchantress) in distributing the nectar churned from the ocean between the gods and the demons, and Śiva's love for Viṣṇu in that beautiful form. Rao⁸ mentions: "Umā, Durgā or Devī is also considered to be a female aspect of Viṣṇu.... Durgā, the consort of Śiva, is represented in all sculptures with the *śaṅkha* and the *chakra*, the weapons characteristic of Viṣṇu. In one instance she is also called the sister of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is also viewed as the *prakṛtitattva* and hence we see Viṣṇu substituted in the place occupied by Devī in the Ardhanārīśvara aspect of Śiva."

Fairly ancient sculptures of Harihara attest to the prevalence of his worship in the northern part of the country. It may, however, be mentioned that the *Harivaṃśa*,⁹ which contains a hymn, addressed to the god, according to Karmarkar,¹⁰ refers to him for the first time. He is not described in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. The

1. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 541 ff.

2. Barth, A., *The Religions of India*, pp. 183-84.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

6. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

7. *JISOA*, XIV, p. 48.

8. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-33.

9. *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 129, 40 ff.

10. Karmarkar, *The Religions of India*, p. 67.

Matsya Purāṇa,¹ however, furnishes a detailed description of this composite god who is named as Śiva-Nārāyaṇa and mentions several varieties on the basis of the attributes held in the hands of the Viṣṇu-half. It may, however, be noted that the description of the Śiva-half is similar to the one given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*;² but different objects are placed in the hands of the Viṣṇu-half only. Accordingly Harihara should have a boon and a trident in his right hands and a conch-shell and a wheel in the left. In other varieties, the wheel is to be replaced by a mace or a conch-shell by the *kaṭaka*-pose. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*³ mentions that a boon, a trident, and a lotus should be held in the hands of the deity; but adds that to the right of the figure of Harihara should be shown the bull (Nandin) and to his left the king of the birds (Garuḍa). In Hemādri's *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*⁴ also the two vehicles have been mentioned to be depicted on the appropriate sides. The text of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*⁵ differs only in expression but has the same import, Harihara being included in the chapter describing images of Śiva. The *Abhilaṣitārtha-chintāmaṇi*⁶ lays down that the right (i.e. Śiva) half should be shown exhibiting *varada mudrā* and carrying trident in the hands, whereas the left (i.e. Viṣṇu) half should be holding conch-shell, discus or mace. The Śiva-half should be of white complexion, adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and a crescent, wearing an elephant-skin, and having a snake entwined round the leg, whereas the Viṣṇu-half should be of darkish colour, putting on a *ratna kirīṭa*, *makara-kunḍala* and yellow garments. The work, however, does not mention any of the vehicles of the two gods. A similar composite form of Kṛṣṇa and Śaṅkara is mentioned in the *Rūpavatāra*⁷ by Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana. Excepting the mention of the different vehicles for the two gods—Nandin and Garuḍa—the description is quite identical with that of the Harihara images. According to the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*,⁸ Harihara should exhibit *varada mudrā* and carry a battle-axe (*paraśu*) by his right hands (i.e., in Śiva half) and hold conch-shell and display *kaṭaka* pose by the left hands (i.e., in Viṣṇu half). According to Rao,⁹ in the figure of Harihara or Haryārdha-mūrti, the description of the right half of the Śiva portion is exactly identical with the description given under Ardhanārīśvara. On the authority of several Sanskrit texts, he mentions that on the left side of Harihara should be two arms carrying *chakra*, *śaṅkha* or *gadā* and kept in the *kaṭaka* pose near the thigh respectively. On the head, in the Viṣṇu half, there should be a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* set with precious stones and *makara-unḍala* of excellent workmanship. The arms on this side should be adorned with *keyūra*,

1. *Matsya P.*, ch. 260, vv. 21-27.

2. Rao, *op. cit.*, II, App. B, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

4. *Chaturvarga* :— 'Dakṣiṇe Vṛṣabhaḥ parśve vāmevihaṅgarāḍṭi'.

5. *Rūpamaṇḍana*, ch. IV, vv. 30-31.

6. *Abhilaṣit.*, 3/1/785.

7. *Rūpavatāra*, ch. 28.

8. *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, 73.

9. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-34.

kañkaṇa and other ornaments. On the right foreleg should be anklet shaped like a snake, while on the left leg should be set with all kinds of precious stones. The Viṣṇu-half is to be draped with a yellow silk garment. The colour of the Śiva-half is to be snow-white and that of Viṣṇu-half, either green or bluish-brown. It is also stated that the two legs of Harihara should be kept without any bend in them. The right half should be terrific and the left half pacific. On the Śiva side of the forehead, the third eye of Śiva should be half visible and behind the head of Harihara, there should be a halo. The *Śilparatna*¹ places a battle-axe and conch-shell in the right and the left hands of Harihara.

The images of Harihara, illustrating the fusion of two great gods, seem to have been evolved for the first time in the Kuṣāṇa period. The two stone heads from the Girdharpur Tīlā² near Mathurā, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, now preserved in the Mathurā Archaeological Museum, have their upper portions clearly divided into halves, the right half showing Śiva's matted locks (*jaṭā-mukuṭa*) and the left half, Viṣṇu's high crown with a band of flower at its lower end. In one of the specimens Śiva's locks have been continued on the back of the head.³

The composite figure of Hari and Hara is probably depicted on a Gupta seal discovered at Nalanda.⁴ The deity appears to have been holding a trident (of Śiva) and discus (of Viṣṇu) in his hands. The base of a sandstone column from Kutari in the Allahabad Museum contains within arched niches on its four sides the figures of Harihara, Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu and Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu.⁵ The face of Harihara is damaged, otherwise it is in a somewhat better state of preservation. The *kirīṭa mukuṭa* and the *jaṭā mukuṭa* over the head can be discerned on the left and the right sides respectively. The hair falling over the shoulders is arranged in ringlets on the left but is tumbling loosely on the right. There is a *dhoti* tied with a thin girdle and lightly pleated on the left side and a lion skin falling over the right thigh. The upper left hand holds a conch-shell and the lower left hand rests on the head of Chakrapuruṣa, whereas the upper right hand is held in the *varada mudrā* and the lower right hand rests on the head of a *gaṇa*. The sculpture is dated in about the 5th century A.D. An inscribed door-jamb in the Patna Museum represents a four-armed Harihara standing in the *samapādasthānaka* pose.⁶ The relief, on account of the simplicity of the style and the transparency of the drapery,

1. *JISOA*, XIV, p. 48.

2. *JUPHS*, pt. i, p. 44, pl. 18, figs. 2 and 3 (nos. 1333 and 1336).

3. *Ibid.*, no. 1336. Agrawala, *A Cat. of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 44. Agrawala is inclined to date these two Harihara heads in the Gupta period and observed that the images of Harihara developed for the first time in the Gupta art (*ibid.*, p. x). But it seems more reasonable to put them in the Kuṣāṇa period on stylistic ground.

4. *MAI-66*, pl. III.

5. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 91, pl. LXVIII.203.a.

6. Sinha, B.P., *Bharatīya Kalā ko Bihāra kī Dena*, p. 139, fig. 12 (Arch. No. 6008).

may reasonably be placed in the Gupta period. The deity is shown holding a conch-shell in his front left hand, whereas his lower left hand is placed on the head of a kneeling figure having his palms joined in supplication; but the objects held in the hands of the Śiva portion are indistinct. On the other side is a pot-bellied Śiva-gaṇa seated cross-legged with arms crossed in front of the chest below the right hands of the principal figure. The treatment of the head-dress is quite characteristic of the god, being divided vertically into two halves, having crescented matted locks and high crown. The forehead likewise shows the third eye of Śiva and *tilaka* of Viṣṇu contiguous to each other. The left half has also a *vanamālā*, the characteristic garland of Viṣṇu. Though the deity is putting on a number of ornaments yet they are not as elaborate as in the mediaeval period. Besides the two kneeling attendants, there are no other subsidiary figures, not even those of the vehicles of the god (Fig. 22). The Patna Museum has recently acquired a much similar representation of Harihara from the Muṇḍeśvari temple in the Bhojpur district which appears almost to be a duplicate copy of the preceding example. There is a sufficiently weatherworn head of Harihara from Kankarbagh in Patna, presently housed in the Patna Museum. The head-dress of the deity is, however, clearly distinguished in the two halves, there being hair gathered on the top of the head and tied into a knot (*jaṭā mukuṭa*) on the right side and *kirīṭa mukuṭa* on the left side.

Harihara, appearing on the northern facade of the Vaitāl Deul at Bhubaneśwara¹ (c. 775 A.D.), is represented somewhat differently. The deity occupying a medallion is shown seated in *yogāsana* and holding a rosary in the upper right hand and a conch-shell in the upper left. In the right part, which represents Hara, the membrum virile has been shown erect.

A stone head of Harihara from Ujjain, now housed in the Gwalior Museum,² belonging to the 8th-9th century A.D., is also clearly divided into two halves, the right half of the head-dress being a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and the left half a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. The head-dress which is elaborately decorated has a *kīrttimukha* in its centre with creepers and lotus flowers issuing from it and forming as the decorative motif of the deity's *mukuṭa*.

A very beautiful image of the deity in the Harihara temple at Visalanagar³ in north Gujarāt has similar features. The image has a *kaṭi-mekhalā* (girdle), *yajñopavīta* round the shoulder and *śrīvatsalāñchhana* on the chest. The right side of the head-gear is of the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* type, whereas the left side is of the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* type. The *trpūṇḍraka* with the *chandraka* on the forehead is crossed by a *tilaka* in the middle. The *kuṇḍala* of the *rudrākṣa* beads is in the right ear and that of the general round shape

1. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 78.

2. *5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien*, p. 165, no. 230 (tafel).

3. *Bharatiya a Vidya*, vol. I, pt. i, Nov. 1939, p. 86.

in the left. The expression of his face is stately serene and peaceful. Standing erect, the four-armed god is holding a rosary in the front right hand held in the boon-giving pose, a trident in the back right hand around which a serpent is entwined, a discus in the upper left and a conch-shell in the lower left one. On appropriate sides are miniature figures, presumably of Bhṛṅgi and Śṛṅgi, the attendants of Śiva, and Jaya and Vijaya, the attendants of Viṣṇu.

Another beautiful sandstone sculpture from Soppārā¹ in south Gujarāt has though all the four arms mutilated, the composite form of the *jaṭā-mukūṭa* and the *kirīṭa-mukūṭa*, the emaciated figure of Bhṛṅgi and the broken portion of Śiva's bull on the right side and the portion of the *mūṇḍa-mālā* (garland of skulls) on the same side, afford ample material for the identification of the image. It appears to be a product of the best period of the mediaeval Indian sculpture.

The beautiful figure of Harihara within an ornamental niche on the outer wall of the Harihara temple No. 1 at Osia² (Rājasthān) is characterised by a clear line of demarcation from top to bottom, the two halves being distinguished by the treatment of the crown (R. *jaṭāmukūṭa*; L. *kirīṭa-mukūṭa*), the attributes in the hands (R. rosary in the front one raised in the *varada* pose and a trident in the back one; L. *chakra* and *śaṅkha* in the back and the front ones), the garland (made up of human-skulls and *vanamālā*), the vehicles (Nandin and Garuḍa on appropriate sides). A Śiva-gaṇa on the right side is seen standing with a trident in his right hand, his left hand being on the waist.

A Harihara image of the Pāla period housed in a modern temple in the village Anti³ of the Gaya district (Bihar) also displays practically similar features. The four-armed deity is characterised by his head-dress which is composed of the *jaṭā*- and the *kirīṭa-mukūṭas*. Harihara is holding a trident and a rosary in the right hands and a discus and a conch-shell in the left hands. There are also the figures of Nandin and Garuḍa carved on appropriate sides on the pedestal. The distinction is emphasised in the treatment of the *yajñopavīta* and the garland worn by the deity. There are also the figures of a pot-bellied Śiva-gaṇa and an attendant of Viṣṇu on the right and the left sides respectively.

There is an exquisitely carved image of Harihara in the private collection of the Mahantha of Bodhgaya.⁴ The sculpture, datable in c. 9th century A.D., preserves all the essential iconographic features of Śiva and Viṣṇu in minute details. The four-armed god is holding a trident and a rosary in his right hands and a discus and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

2. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 55, a; Sharma, B.N., Some Interesting Temple Sculptures at Osia, *Roopa-Lekhā*, XL, 1 & 2, pp. 98-99, pl. V.

3. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 547, pl. XLVIII.1.

4. Desai, Kalpana, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, p. 53, fig. 46.

a conch-shell in the left hands. The Śiva-portion has a snake with its tail coiled into a circle adorning the side of the head, a human skull tucked into the middle of the bracelet and a loin cloth of tiger-skin. The Viṣṇu-portion is also distinguished by a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, a *vanamālā* hanging down the shoulder and a *pītāmbara* serving as the lower garment. The god is flanked by two male attendants, one on each side. While there is the bull Nandi on the proper right side facing the master, there is the human faced Garuḍa on the proper left side.

Another highly interesting image from Bihar in the Indian Museum at Calcutta depicts the composite figure of Harihara, four-armed, carrying a trident and a conch-shell in the back hands and a skull-cup and a discus in the front hands.¹ The two halves of the principal figure are also emphasised by the treatment of the headgear, the ornaments, the long garland and the respective vehicles of Śiva and Viṣṇu. What renders the figure more interesting, rather unique, is that Sūrya standing on his seven-horsed chariot driven by Aruṇa and Buddha on a double-petalled lotus are shown accompanying the god on his either side. There is neither any text mentioning Sūrya and Buddha as attendant deities of Harihara, nor have they been shown as mere attendants, for the manner in which separate sections of the pedestal have been allotted to them really suggests them to be cult objects for worship.² The sculpture thus demonstrates in a striking manner not only the combination of the Hindu deities Śiva and Viṣṇu and Sūrya; but also that of the Buddha with them. Combined representations of the Hindu and the Buddhist deities are not unknown as evidenced by the images of Śiva-Lokeśvara³ and Sūrya-Lokeśvara.⁴

The National Museum, New Delhi, is in possession of a rather unique image of Harihara from central India belonging to the Pratihāra period, 11th century A.D.⁵ The deity, who is peculiarly posed, is having exaggerated bends in his body. Unfortunately both of his arms are damaged. He is, however, readily identified by his composite crown which is *jaṭāmukuṭa* in the right half and *kirīṭamukuṭa* in the left half. The waist and the thigh on the Viṣṇu-side are adorned with ornaments, whereas on the Śiva-side, they are left severely plain (Fig. 23).

Thus, in actual north Indian representations, Harihara is almost invariably shown standing to front in the *samapādasthānaka* pose, two or four-armed, with Śiva on the right and Viṣṇu on the left half. The two halves are sharply distinguished by a clear line of demarcation, emphasised by certain clear-cut features, as in the treatment of the attributes, the head-dress, the ornaments, the attendant figure and

1. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 547, pl. XLVIII.1.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 547.

3. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVI.4.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVIII.3.

5. Sharma, B.N., *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XVIII, 1 & 2, pp. 157-59, fig. 1.

the vehicles. A slight deviation from this normal way of representation is seen in the figure from Orissa where the deity is shown seated in *yogāsana* and also having his membrum virile erect.

The *Agni Purāṇa*,¹ however, describes a twenty-armed polycephalous image of Hariṣaṅkara. According to the text, Hariṣaṅkara should be four-faced, twenty-armed, divided into right and left halves, three-eyed, lying on his left side, one of his legs held by his consort, praised by Vimala and others, the four-faced Brahmā being placed on the lotus issuing from the navel. No mention is, however, made of the emblems to be shown in the different hands of the deity. It has simply been mentioned that a trident and a spear should be placed in the right hands, while in the left, a mace and a wheel. It also adds that the auspicious Rudra-Keśava body should be accompanied by Gaurī and Lakṣmī. The description, as observed by Banerjea,² is of a reclining type; but it is really awkward to depict such a type as lying in bed. However, a twenty-armed figure of the god conforming to the above description to a great extent is under the possession of the Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer; but the god, instead of being depicted as reclining, is shown seated on Garuḍa, the sculpture being hardly older than a century or two.³

Rao has illustrated two excellent south Indian images of Harihara, one from the main cave (no. 1) at Badami⁴ and the other from Poona,⁵ both belonging to the Chālukyan period. There is still another representative figure of Harihara from Bhandak⁶ (Chanda district) of the 9th century A.D. in the Museum at Nagpur. A study of these figures of Harihara clearly indicates that, barring a few exceptions, the figures of the god from the northern part of the country conform essentially not only to the iconographic details as prescribed in the texts, but also exhibit striking resemblance with their south Indian counterparts.

1. *Agni P.*, chapter 49, vv. 23-25.

2. *JISOA*, XIV, 1946, p. 50.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

4. Rao, *EHI*, II, i, pp. 534-35, pl. XCIX.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 336-37, pl. C.

6. Rode, V.P., *A Short Guide to the Central Museum, Nagpur*, pl. IX.

SARASVATĪ

SARASVATĪ, the goddess of learning and fine arts, occupies a place of paramount importance in terms of her popularity and wide appeal amongst the gods and the goddesses of the Brahmanical pantheon. She is variously known as Vāch, Vāgdevī, Vāgīśvari, Vāṇī, Śārādā, Bhāratī and Viṇāpāṇī. A special worship is enjoined in her honour every year on the fifth day of the month of *māgha*, when her milk-white clay images, particularly in Bihar and Bengal, are worshipped by seekers of knowledge, musicians and artists. The goddess is held in high esteem all over the country by the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jainas alike. The Jainas assigned her a specially honoured place in the hierarchy as the head of the Śruta-devatās and the Vidyā-devīs, while the Buddhists regarded her as the consort of Mañjuśrī. In the later Hindu mythologies, she is sometimes associated with Brahmā both as his daughter and as his wife,¹ and at other times with Viṣṇu as Puṣṭi, one of his consorts.²

Goddess Sarasvatī has a very interesting history behind her. She makes her appearance in the *R̥g-veda*, not as a goddess, but as a manifestation of the sacred river Sarasvatī,³ on the banks of which most of the Vedic hymns were composed and the Vedic culture developed. The river thus appears to have played a considerable part in the formation of her concept, and this may explain the circumstance why the goddess of learning came to be known as Sarasvatī (= *Sarah* + *vatī*, i.e., one possessing a vast sheet of water), thereby showing the intimate connection of the goddess with the river. According to a myth told in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*,⁴ Sarasvatī, through her speech (*vāchā*), communicated vigour to Indra. Gradually she came to be identified with the Vedic goddess Vāch,⁵ the personified speech, and, finally in later times, she became the goddess of Eloquence.

In Hindu iconography, Sarasvatī has several forms with wide variety in emblems and vehicles. A snow-white goddess in white garments, she has every thing associated with her white, in keeping with her purity. The texts are, however, not

1. *Matsya P.*, 3rd chapter.
2. *Brahmavaivarta P.*, chaps. 1-7, *Prakṛti-khaṇḍam*.
3. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 87.
4. *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, 19, 12.
5. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 124; *Śat. Brāhm.*, 3-9-17.

unanimous as to the number of hands Sarasvatī is supposed to have. In some of the texts, she is described as having two hands, whereas in others, she is portrayed as having four arms. Most of the texts provide a four-armed Sarasvatī with a manuscript and a rosary in her two hands; but they record divergence with regard to the objects held in the remaining two hands of the goddess. According to the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*,¹ white complexioned Sarasvatī, seated upon a white lotus, should hold a rosary in one of her right hands and the other should exhibit the *vyākhyāna-mudrā*, while her two left hands should carry a book and a white lotus (*puṇḍarīka*). The *Viṣṇudharmottara*² mentions that Sarasvatī should be shown standing on a white lotus in *samabhaṅga*, carrying a book and a rosary in her right hands and a *kamaṇḍalu* in one of the left, alternatively a rosary, a trident, a book and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the four hands.³ According to the *Rūpamaṇḍana*,⁴ besides a book and a rosary in her hands, Sarasvatī should carry either a *vīṇā* and a lotus or should hold a lotus and exhibit *varada mudrā* by her remaining two hands. The *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*⁵ also mentions a rosary and a book to be held by the two hands of the goddess, whereas the remaining two hands are to carry *sūdaṇḍa* and a *kamaṇḍalu* (*karaka*). The *Agni Purāṇa*⁶ also gives a rosary and a book in one of her right and left hands; but it adds that the front two hands should be exhibited as playing upon a *vīṇā*. This is rather interesting as Sarasvatī is usually shown holding a *vīṇā* with her two front hands and tuning the cords of the instrument. Hemādri⁷ as well mentions the above three objects in the three hands of the goddess; but adds a *kamaṇḍalu* in the fourth hand.

Sarasvatī is usually provided with a swan as her vehicle; but the bird is not her only carrier. In some images, lion serves as her vehicle, and, in some others, most common in south India, the goddess is given a peacock. According to Gode,⁸ the goddess is always represented as riding a peacock in the Deccan. Occasionally a lamb is also found as Sarasvatī's mount. Referring to the objects with which Sarasvatī has been associated in the course of her millennium-long history, Bhattacharya mentions,⁹ 'The swan, the lotus, the ram (or ewe or he-goat), the peacock, and the lion have all served as vehicle according to tradition and locality and she has herself been worshipped in the form of a white snake and there is a reference

1. *Aṁśumad.*, 48/114.

2. *Viṣṇudh.*, chap. 64.

3. *Ibid.*, chap. 73.

4. *Rūpamaṇḍana*, ch. 18.

5. *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* in *EHI*, I, App. C, p. 138.

6. *Agni P.*, 49/20; 50/16.

7. Hemādri, 1/725; 2/77.

8. *JISOA*, IX, 1941, p. 133.

9. *K.B. Pathak Comm. Vol.*, p. 50.

that she was herself of the form o fa swan'. The *Śāradātīlakatantra*¹ and the *Prapañchasāratatantra*² mention swan as the vehicle of the goddess. Nemidatta, a Jaina author, mentions the peacock as the vehicle of the goddess Sarasvatī or Bhārati in *Ārādhana Kathā Kośa*,³ a book of narrative composed about A.D. 1530. Alice Getty⁴ refers to Sarasvatī mounted on a peacock : 'If painted, her colour is white and her mount a peacock'. This is, however, a Buddhist Sarasvatī.

Sarasvatī has five different forms in Buddhist iconography. Like Mañjuśrī and Prajñāpāramitā, Sarasvatī is also believed by the Buddhists as bestowing knowledge, wisdom and memory. (i) Mahāsarasvatī, conceived as twelve years old, is white complexioned, having two arms, the right one held in *abhaya mudrā* and the left holding a lotus. (ii) Vajravīṇāsarasvatī, also white complexioned, has also two arms playing on a *vīṇā*, her principal emblem. (iii) Vajrasāradā, seated on a lotus, has a crescent in the crown. She has three eyes and two arms, holding lotus and book. All the three forms of Sarasvatī may be attended by four minor divinities. (iv) Āryasarasvatī (also called Vajrasarasvatī) has a different appearance. Conceived as a girl of fourteen, she is white in complexion, holding a lotus stem in the left hand with the Prajñāpāramitā book upon it. (v) Vajrasarasvatī, the last one, has an entirely different form. She has three faces, six hands, red complexion, with hair red and stiff. Her right face is blue and left one white. She is seated on a red lotus in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, holding lotus with the *Prajñāpāramitā* book, sword and *karṭṭ* in the right hands and *Brahma-kapāla*, jewel and disc in the left in descending order.⁵

The Jaina Śrutadevī (the goddess of Śrutis i.e. Vedas) approximates very closely to the Brahmanical Sarasvatī. She is endowed with four hands, three holding a lotus, a book and a rosary, and the last held in the *varada*-pose—iconographically on par with Sarasvatī. While the Śvetāmbaras give her a swan as her vehicle, the Digambaras provide her with a peacock,⁶ both the birds agreeing with the conception of Sarasvatī as a river goddess in Hinduism. Besides presiding over extensive Jaina literature, Śrutadevī heads the collective body of the sixteen Vidyā-devīs. According to Bhattacharya,⁷ "of all the conceptions in Jaina iconography, the conception of Vidyā-devīs or goddesses of learning is most original. In no other religion, the goddesses of learning are so numerous". The Jaina texts say that by worshipping them, the devotee acquires knowledge, character, religion, efforts, and mental qualities of many kinds.

1. *Śāradātīlakatantra*, 7th chap.

2. *Prapañchasāratatantra*, chap. 7, 3, 8.

3. *JISOA*, IX, 1941, p. 135.

4. Getty, A., *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 127.

5. *JIH*, XLI, pt. III, Dec. 1963, pp. 685-86.

6. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, p. 164.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

Sarasvatī is also conceived as the Śakti of Śiva in some of the texts. In the *Suta-saṁhitā* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*,¹ Sarasvatī is described as a female figure having a *jaṭāmukuta* with crescent moon over the head. Her neck is of blue colour and she has three eyes. The *Devī-mahātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*² describes her as holding in her hands a rosary, a *vīṇā*, an *aṅkuśa*, and a book. The *Śilparatna*³ describes a ten-armed Sarasvatī as one holding *chakra*, *śaṅkha*, *kapāla*, *pāśa*, *paraśu*, *sudhā-kumbha*, *veda*, rosary and lotus.

Thus Sarasvatī is very often (i) white complexioned, draped in white garments and decked with ornaments, (ii) two or four-armed, (iii) holding in her hands any of the objects from *vīṇā*, manuscript, rosary, *kamaṇḍalu*, lotus etc. and (iv) provided with a swan or a pea-fowl or even a lion as her vehicle. The white complexion of the goddess and so also her white garments are in keeping with her purity. The musical instrument (*vīṇā*) is one of the oldest emblems ever associated with her, though a manuscript is also not late in making its appearance. A manuscript in the hand of the goddess is certainly indicative of her intimate connection with learning, and so also the *vīṇā* which is the symbol of music and fine-arts. A rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu* are the objects to be held by Brahmā and a swan is his vehicle. Sarasvatī's association with rosary, water-vessel and swan evidently points to her relation with Brahmā. So also the rosary and the water-vessel in the hands of the goddess imply the great truth that learning cannot flourish without the combination of devotion, meditation (*akṣamālā* being an aid for practical meditation) and sacrifice. The association of the goddess with a pea-fowl may indicate the river Sarasvatī teeming on its bank with pea-fowls of several descriptions. According to Cunningham,⁴ the crocodiles in the Ganges, the tortoises in the river Yamunā and the peacocks on the banks of the river Sarasvatī, owing to their preponderance, have been responsible for the vehicles crocodile, tortoise and peacock for Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī respectively. Lion as the vehicle of Sarasvatī is suggestive of the goddess as being considered as the Śakti of Śiva as well.

The handsome female figure carved on the railing pillar of Bharhut⁵ may be regarded as the earliest known representation of the goddess Sarasvatī. Besides being much mutilated, the figure does not bear even the descriptive label found usually attached to such reliefs at Bharhut, but still enough remains to enlighten us as to its nature. The figure, standing gracefully in an upright frontal position on what appears to be a large full-blown lotus, is shown playing on a seven stringed

1. Rao, *EHI*, I, pt. ii, p. 378.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

3. *Śilparatna*, chap. 24/4.

4. Seal, S.C., *Prāchīna Bhārata* (in Hindi), vol. I, pt. ii, p. 99.

5. Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, pl. XVII.2.

instrument (*vīṇā*), mentioned by Barua¹ as a large harp, held up in front across her body. She is of youthful appearance and wears ornaments of usual Bharhut type. Banerjea² is also inclined to regard this figure 'an early prototype of the goddess' and Barua³ finds in it an early iconic form of the Hindu deity Sarasvatī.

Two-armed figures of Sarasvatī, with a manuscript in her hand, have also been found represented in other examples of Indian art. One of the earliest images of the goddess with a manuscript in her hand was discovered from Kaṅkāli Tīlā near Mathurā.⁴ The goddess is shown squatting in an elegant fashion, on a rectangular pedestal, and holding a manuscript in her left hand. The upper portion of the image is lost, together with the right hand, which was raised,⁵ and probably had the *vyākhyāna-mudrā*⁶ or a pen.⁷ The figure clothed in very stiffly executed drapery has two attendants, one standing on her each side, with hairs dressed in rolls. The attendant on her left wears a tunic and holds a jar, whereas the attendant on her right has his hands clasped in adoration. The pitcher in the hand of one of the attendants probably symbolises the receptacle of knowledge (*jñāna-bhāṇḍa*) of which she is the presiding deity.⁸ The figure found from a Jaina site probably belongs to the Śvetāmbara sect, which, added together with the inscriptional evidence, may well be regarded as a Jaina version of the goddess Sarasvatī⁹ and may be placed in the first half of the 2nd century A.D.¹⁰

D.B. Diskalkar¹¹ has noticed two Kuṣāṇa sculptures belonging to the Mathurā Museum as figures of Sarasvatī with a pea-fowl as her vehicle. Unfortunately the upper part of the figures is severely mutilated, and the presence of the pea-fowls only on the pedestal cannot guarantee the figures to be those of Sarasvatī. Alternatively the figures might represent Kaumārī, one of the Sapta-mātṛkās, the Śakti of Kumāra-Kārttikeya, whose usual vehicle is a peacock.

In the Gupta period, Sarasvatī is said to be represented on the reverse of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta's gold coins. The goddess nimbate is seated to left

1. Barua, B.M., *Barhut*, II, p. 75.
2. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 377.
3. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
4. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura*, pl. XCIX; Agrawala, V.S., *A Short Guide Book to the Archl. Section of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, p. 5.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 5; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57, pl. XCIX.
6. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 187, pl. LXII, b.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 379.
9. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.
10. The Brāhmī inscription of the Kuṣāṇa period on the pedestal records the installation of the image by a Jaina devotee, Smith Gove, son of Siha, at the instance of the preacher Āryadeva, in the year 54 (or 44, as suggested by Smith) i.e. in 132 or 122 A.D.—Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.
11. Leeuw, J.E. Van Lohuijen-De, *The Scythian Period*, pp. 286-88, fig. 59.
11. *JUPHS*, V, Jan. 1932, p. 50.

on a wicker stool, wearing a loose robe, close fitting cap, and jewellery, and holding a fillet in her outstretched right hand and cornucopia in the left. Though she has not been given her specific symbol in her own hand, the *vīṇā* on the obverse is taken to identify her with Sarasvatī *Vīṇāpāṇī*,¹ the goddess of music, and not Lakṣmī due to the absence of lotus in her hand; but the identification does not seem convincing as the *vīṇā* is not in the hand of the goddess. Sarasvatī is, however, represented on the reverse of one of the Rājahlā type of coins of Samāchāradeva (c. 550-575 A.D.), a predecessor of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, as standing in *tribhāṅga* posture on a lotus, with her left hand resting on a lotus with bent stalk and with her right hand drawing up another lotus with a long stalk in front of her face as if to smell it. There is also a lotus bud with a stalk under the right hand and below it a swan is trying to snatch a lotus leaf in the front by its beak.² The presence of the swan evidently identifies the goddess to be Sarasvatī. A gold coin of the Gupta style and fabric in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, dating from the 6th-7th century A.D., has the figure of a goddess on its reverse, described by Allan³ as Goddess Lakṣmī, nimbate, standing to left, holding lotus in outstretched right hand, behind her a lotus plant and at her feet a *haṁsa* (or peacock according to Smith). Banerjea⁴ states that "the *haṁsa* at the feet of the figure would justify us in identifying her as Sarasvatī, the counterpart of Lakṣmī". According to Gode,⁵ "if Banerjea's remarks are correct, we have in the above coin numismatic evidence of the 6th or 7th century A.D. about Sarasvatī with *haṁsa* at her feet".

Banerjea studies a sculpture much later in point of date (c. 10th century A.D.) hailing from Khitching⁶ (Orissa) along with the Bharhut relief. It shows the half-length figure of a seven-hooded Nāgini playing on a *vīṇā*. She is beautifully decorated with ornaments and wearing a *karaṇḍamukuta* (usually worn by goddesses). Banerjea⁷ has aptly observed that the number of hoods behind her head and the type of head-dress worn by her distinctly prove that she is not an ordinary snake maiden, but is a goddess with much iconographic affinity to Sarasvatī.

There is a very beautiful two-armed stone image of Sarasvatī, belonging to the Pāla period, in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.⁸ The goddess standing gracefully in the *tribhāṅga* pose is shown holding a *vīṇā* and apparently in the act of playing upon it. She is putting on numerous jewelleries and her coiffure is tastefully decorated. The youthful figure of the goddess is full of dynamic quality (Fig. 24). Another

1. Mukherji, R.K., *The Gupta Empire*, p. 35.

2. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 328.

3. Allan, J., *CGC, BM*, p. 150, pl. XXIV.

4. *IHQ*, XIV, no. 2, June 1938, p. 307.

5. *JISOA*, IX, 1941, p. 137.

6. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

8. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.3.

figure of the goddess, again of the Pāla period, belonging to the Patna Museum,¹ is equally interesting. In this example also the two-armed goddess, standing in *ṭṛbhaṅga* pose, is represented as holding a *vīṇā* by her left hand and touching her bosom with her fingers, while her right hand hanging by her side is placed on her waist. A bronze image of the two-armed goddess also shows her with *vīṇā* in her hands. The image hailing from Nālandā, housed in the Patna Museum,² also represents her standing and holding the *vīṇā* in her hands; it appears as if the cords of the instrument are being tuned. She is putting on practically a transparent dress which covers her bosom fully, but leaves the right one practically bare. She has two attendants holding vessels in their hands on her either side. The *ṭṛbhaṅga* pose of the goddess and the tuning of the *vīṇā* endow her with dynamism and suggest her in action.

Now, these figures of Sarasvatī may well be compared with a statuette of early mediaeval period discovered from the Buddhist site at Sarnath and housed in the local museum.³ It is made of reddish Chunar sandstone and undoubtedly represents the goddess of learning and music playing on a *vīṇā*. Above her head is a foliage of tree and to her proper right is shown a jar standing upside down. It is really interesting to note that the Buddhist representation of the goddess does not record any iconographic difference from the Brahmanical ones.

Assam has also yielded a few sculptures of Sarasvatī with a lute in her hands. A figure of *vīṇā-hastā* Sarasvatī, as described in the *Agni Purāṇa*, is found in a niche of stone slab from Tezpur.⁴ The goddess seated in *ardha-paryāṅka* with her left leg tucked up and the right one hanging down is shown playing on a *vīṇā*. Another figure of the goddess, standing with a *vīṇā* held in her two hands across her chest, was recovered from Sibsagar.⁵ She wears a *ratna-kunḍala*, *hāra*, girdles and anklets. The simplicity of the figure and the delightfully done drapery flowing round her body mark it out as one of the graceful specimens of the early art of Assam.⁶ The figure which may be dated in c. 10th-11th century A.D. successfully delineates the devotional feeling.⁷ A similar crude figure of Sarasvatī was recovered from the ruins of the Tāmreśvarī temple at Sadiya by Bloch.⁸

As already referred to, Sarasvatī is also regarded as one of the consorts of Viṣṇu—a fact which is amply corroborated by the numerous images of the Pāla period in which she is almost invariably shown accompanying Viṣṇu, standing to his

1. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, p. 131, fig. 102.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 131, fig. 113.

3. ASIAR, p. 86; Sahni, D.R., *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 150.

4. ASIAR, 1924-25, p. 97.

Barua, B.K., *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 191, fig. 67.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 191, fig. 68.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

7. ASIAR, 1927-28, p. 113, pl. XLIX, d.

8. *Annual Report, Eastern Circle*, 1905, p. 2.

left (as Puṣṭi) and Lakṣmī standing to his right. A unique image of Viṣṇu discovered at Lakṣmaṅkaṭī¹ (Bakerganj district) represents him sitting on the outstretched wings of his vehicle, the Garuḍa. The figure is unique in as much as it does not hold the usual attributes in the four of his hands. The front right hand of the god, however, carries the *chakra*, but in its centre is depicted the miniature figure of Chakrapuruṣa. The normal left hand of the god holds within its palm the miniature representation of Gadādevī with a mace. The attributes in the remaining two hands are also unique. The right hand holds the stalk of a lotus on which sits goddess Lakṣmī anointed by a pair of elephants, and the left hand similarly holds the stalk of another lotus on which sits the goddess Sarasvatī, playing on her *vīṇā*. The *vīṇā* in the hands of the goddess accompanying Viṣṇu in the images ordinarily met with has a straight shape; but here it is of antique shape—a boat-shaped instrument exactly like the one held by Samudragupta, as depicted on the coins of his Lyryst type.

Like two-armed images, separate four-armed images of the goddess are also rare. There is a very beautiful image of Sarasvatī in the Dacca Museum,² carved out of the black stone. Fully modelled in the round, the four-armed goddess seated on a double-petalled lotus in *lalitāsana* with her left leg pendent and placed on a lotus is shown playing on a *vīṇā* with her two front hands and holding a rosary in the back right hand and a manuscript in the back left one. A tiny swan, the usual vehicle of the goddess, is carved in the extreme left corner of the pedestal which is decorated with lotus-coils usually found in the 11th-12th century sculptures. The *kīrttimukhas* in the centre of the tapering top of the *prabhāvali*, the flying *vidyādhara*s, the trefoil arch over the head of the goddess, the female *chauri*-bearer on her either side, the *pañcharatha* pedestal, the figure of the donor with folded hands in the extreme right corner—all these features, according to Banerjea,³ typify the sculpture as one of the fully developed hieratic forms of Sarasvatī.

An equally beautiful image of the goddess in the Rajshahi Museum hails from Chhatingram in the Bogra district of N. Bengal.⁴ In this instance as well the goddess, fully modelled in the round, is shown seated in *lalitāsana*, playing on a *vīṇā* with her two main hands and holding a rosary and a book in the remaining back hands. This piece, however, marks a sharp departure from the usual practice of providing a swan as the vehicle of the goddess, because the place of the swan on the pedestal is taken up by a frisky ram. The explanation regarding the presence of the ram on the pedestal, as suggested by Bhattasali,⁵ is furnished by the mythological story in the *Satapatha*

1. Bhattasali, N.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87, pl. XXXII.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 188 and 190.

3. Banerjea, DHI, pp. 379-80.

4. Kramrisch, S., *Pāla and Sena Sculpture*, fig. 31; Banerji, R.D., *EISMS*, p. 122, pl. LXII; *A Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi*, pp. 30-31.

5. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

*Brāhmaṇa*¹ which closely associates rams and ewes with Sarasvatī. The image datable in the 11th century A.D., in the opinion of Banerjea,² is certainly the finest specimen so far known.

Another beautiful image of Sarasvatī in the British Museum comes from Mathurā.³ Carved out of reddish stone and treated in a very simple manner, this piece also represents her seated in *lalitāsana*, playing on a *vīṇā* and carrying a rosary and a book, with a swan as her vehicle. On stylistic ground, the image may be dated in the 10th-11th century A.D.⁴

In the Allahabad Museum, there are two sculptures from Jamsot representing Sarasvatī. Both of them belonging to the 12th century A.D. have been carved out of buff coloured sandstone. One of the sculptures represents the goddess standing in the *tr̥bhaṅga* pose.⁵ She holds a comparatively long *vīṇā* by her two hands, while she carries a lotus by her upper right hand, the lower left hand being broken. A goose can be seen near her feet. The other sculpture represents the goddess seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose.⁶ Four out of her eight hands are broken and so also is smashed her head. She carries a *vīṇā* by her two hands, while by her three left hands she holds a manuscript, a bell and a pot. Her mount, the goose, can again be seen near her feet.

Images of Sarasvatī from the state of Rajasthan, however, represent her somewhat differently.⁷ A beautiful white marble image from Pallu, Bikaner, datable to the Chauhān period, 12th century A.D., represents her standing gracefully in the *tr̥bhaṅga* attitude on a fully blossomed lotus. The four-armed goddess, with her

1. *Sat, Br.*, XII. 7.1.3 and 14; XII. 7.2.3 and 7.

Bhattachali, *op.cit.*, p. 187 :— "There, in the first *Brāhmaṇa* of the 7th *adhyāya*, kāṇḍa XII, it is related how once Indra became enervated because he had descended the sacrifice and his vital energy began to flow off from all parts of his body. 'From his nostrils, his vital powers flowed off and became that animal, the ram' (Eggeling's translation, vol. V, *SBE*, vol. XLIV, p. 215). The gods on this called upon the Aśvins and Sarasvatī to heal Indra. Sarasvatī healed Indra and received the ram as her reward. From that day, the ram has been sacred to Sarasvatī.

Rams or ewes used to be sacrificed to Sarasvatī, as is evident from the 7th section of the 2nd *Brāhmaṇa* :— 'He-goats are sacred to Aśvins, ewes to Sarasvatī, and cows (and bulls) to Indra, they say : if these animals are sacrificed, he (the sacrificer) by means of those deities gains those animals'.

It is interesting to note that the custom of sacrificing ram to Sarasvatī still persists in some parts of the Dacca district, and one of the principal diversions of young people in some villages on the festive day of the worship of Sarasvatī is ram-fight."

2. *HBR*, I, p. 440.

3. Binyon, L., etc., *Examples of Indian Sculptures at the British Museum*, pl. IV.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. IV.

5. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 125, pl. CVIII.229.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 125, pl. CVIII.230.

7. Goetz, H., *The Art & Architecture of Bikaner State*, pp. 86-87, figs. 9-10; Sharma, B.N., *Sarasvatī Pratimāyon ke Vikās men Pallu kī Jaina Sarasvatī Pratimāyen, Maru Bhārati*, Pilani, October 1962, pp. 88-94.

pendent front right hand exhibits *varada mudrā* along with a rosary on the palm, while the front left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. She carries a lotus with her back right hand and a manuscript in her back left hand. The *vinā* upon which she is usually shown playing is, however, not to be found here. She is, however, accompanied by two female attendants standing on her either side with a *vinā* in her hands. Two devotees, one a male and the other a female, seated on the pedestal and facing towards the goddess, are shown worshipping her with their folded hands. A miniature swan, the vehicle of the goddess, is carved on the pedestal within a circle just below the lotus upon which the goddess stands (Fig. 25).¹ Another marble image of the goddess is found carved within a roundel in the ceiling dome of the *maṇḍapa* of the Vimala Vasāhi temple at Dilwārā (Mt. Abu, Rajasthan).² The goddess seated in *sukhāsana*, with her body quite erect, has the same attributes in her hands as in the preceding figure from Bikaner. Vidyādhara fly above, whereas two small figures, probably representing donors, kneel at the bottom of the throne. In this example, Sarasvatī is being saluted by the two architects who built the Vimala Vasāhi temple. The bearded architect to the right of the goddess is inscribed as Loyapa Sūtradhāra, the other holding the measuring rod is named as Sūtradhāra Kela. In both the figures, the goddess is shown beautifully bejewelled and ornamented.

Sarasvatī has been represented on the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajurāho seated and carrying *vinā* by her first and third hands, while she has a lotus in the fourth hand, the second hand being displayed in the *varada mudrā*.³ In the Kandarīya Mahādeo temple, she holds a *vinā* by her first and fourth hands and a manuscript and a lotus in her second and third hands respectively.⁴ She also carries a lotus stalk and a manuscript in her second and third hands with *vinā* in her remaining hands on the sanctum gate of the Viśvanātha temple.⁵ Sometimes she has been depicted with her first hand in the *varada mudrā*, the upper two hands carrying lotus flowers, while the remaining hand has a manuscript. Other four-handed images of Sarasvatī on the Vāmana temple represent her with the first hand in the *varada mudrā* and carrying a lotus, a *vinā* and a *ghaṭa* in the rest; or a lotus, a manuscript and again a lotus in the last three hands.⁶ Six and eight-armed images of the goddess have also been found at Khajurāho with most of her arms damaged, but those holding *vinā* in her two hands having survived. In the eight-armed image, she has been

1. Another similar image of Sarasvatī discovered at Pallu is on display in the Bikaner Museum. Sriyastava, V.S., *Catalogue & Guide to the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner*, Jaipur, 1960-61, pl. III.

2. Kramrisch, S., *Art of India*, pl. 137; Sharma, B.N., *Social & Cultural History of Northern India*, c. 1000-1200 A.D., pl. XXIV; Shah, U.P., *Kalā-Nidhi*, Varanasi, V, 1, pp. 36-37, pl. facing p. 37.

3. Agrawal, U., *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, p. 59.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 59, fig. 40.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

shown tuning the strings of the instrument by one of her right hands, the rest being broken.¹

A few more images of Sarasvatī deserve notice. One of them, a white marble image, probably coming from Rajasthan, in the British Museum,² represents the goddess as conceived by the Jainas. Standing in the *tr̥bhāṅga* pose, the goddess is four-armed, both the right hands being lost. The upper left hand holds a rosary and the lower a manuscript, which, together with the five Jinas seated cross-legged on the upper part of the back-slab, indicate that the image represents the Jaina goddess of learning. Though the eyes of the figure are blank, the pose is graceful and lovely. Below on the base are two female attendants and a squatting worshipper on her either side, to the right a male and to the left a female, representing evidently the donors. The *chauri*-bearing figures even do not lack movement.³ Rothenstein⁴ notes the exquisite use of the jewelled ornaments on this image. The image has a late Nāgari inscription on its base; but it appears much older and is rightly assigned to the 11th-12th century A.D.⁵

Still another important piece of sculpture preserved in the British Museum⁶ is a nearly life-size inscribed image of Vāgdevī, the goddess of speech, carved out of grey sandstone. The image bears an inscription on its base recording its installation in the city of king Bhoja in Samvat 1091 (i.e., 1034 A.D.).⁷ This king Bhoja has been identified with the Paramāra king Bhoja of Dhārā, who ruled over Mālwa between 1018 and 1060 A.D. The jewelled ornaments worn by this image—the crown, the necklace, the armlets, the bracelets, the pendants round the loin, the anklets, and the style of showing the drapery—bear closest resemblance to those of the Jaina goddess of learning noticed above.⁸ According to Sivaramamurti,⁹ it is perhaps one of the most marvellous creations of the sculptors of the Paramāra realm patronised by Bhoja. It closely resembles sculptures of the Pratihāra school, specially from the western area, approaching in several respects the idiom of Gujarat.¹⁰ Vāgdevī is represented as standing in the *tr̥bhāṅga* pose on a pedestal, wearing *kirīṭamukūṭa* with some hair hanging loose behind, *patrakunḍalas*, a necklace and a single *hāra*. She has four hands, the upper right holding *śūla* and the upper left a deer, the two lower hands being broken. Her eyes show that she is looking down attentively. To the right of Vāgdevī are two male attendants, one bearded holding a staff

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

2. Binyon, L., *op. cit.*, pl. VI.

3. Chanda, R.P., *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, p. 46.

4. Binyon, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

5. Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 46, pl. X.

7. Sharma, B.N., *op. cit.*, pl. IX.

8. *Supra*, p. 221.

9. Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Sculpture*, p. 106, pl. 39.

10. *JIH*, XLI, pt. iii, Dec. 1963, pp. 690-91.

in the left hand in the fashion of a door-keeper, and the other a pot-bellied dwarf holding a mango-fruit in his right hand and with uplifted eyes gazing at the face of the goddess; and to the left is a damsel, pot-bellied, dancing and trampling on a lion and with right hand supplicating goddess. Thus, in this instance, a lion is shown, instead of a swan, as the vehicle of the goddess.

To sum up, a study of the images of Sarasvatī, belonging to northern India, makes it quite evident that the Sarasvatī images are either two-armed or four-armed, suggested even by the literary descriptions. When two-armed, whether independent or associated with Viṣṇu as his consort, she usually holds a *vinā*, which she is represented as playing upon with her two hands. Sarasvatī with *vinā* appears in Indian art as early as the 2nd century B.C., her earliest representation being found upon the Bharhut railing. In another variety, the two-armed Sarasvatī is provided with a manuscript in one of her hands, as in the Lucknow Museum example; other hand being broken, it is difficult to suggest precisely as to the object held in it—probably the object was a pen as required by the *Śāradātīlakatantra* and the *Śilpa-ratna*.¹ When four-armed, she is represented in the sculptures of early mediaeval school of Bengal and Bihar with a *vinā* in her front hands and a rosary and a manuscript in her back hands. It was in accordance with the *Agni Purāṇa* that the artists of Bengal and Bihar seem to have prepared majority of the images of Sarasvatī in the mediaeval period. Images of Sarasvatī with four arms have been differently prepared in other parts of the country. Images from Rajasthan represent the goddess with the *vyākhyāna-mudrā* exhibited by the front right hand pendent with a rosary on the palm, while the front left hand holds the *kamaṇḍalu*, whereas the back left hand carries the book and the back right hand a lotus; *vinā*, one of the most important objects of the goddess, is, however, conspicuous by its absence. Generally the vehicle of the goddess is found to be a swan, but a ram or a lion is also provided to her as vehicle in some cases; peacock being, however, absent in the north Indian images. As already seen, Diskalkar has identified certain sculptures with the peacock-vehicle with the figures of goddess Sarasvatī, but they may better be regarded as the figures of Kaumārī, one of the Mātṛkās, whose usual vehicle is a peacock.²

It will, however, be profitable to institute a comparison between the images of Sarasvatī from the northern part of the country with some representative examples of southern India. Images of Sarasvatī from Ghaṇṭaśālā (Andhra state) are perhaps the earliest representations in south India belonging to the 2nd century B.C.³ Stylistically much akin to the Mohenjodaro art, the goddess standing in *samabhaṅga* posture has four hands with the upper right hand holding a lotus bud, the lower one placed over the head of a swan, the upper left holding a noose and the lower left

1. *Supra*, pp. 208-09.

2. *Supra*, p. 213.

3. Rea, A., *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, pl. XXXI; Subbaya, G.V., *History of Ghanta-sala*, p. 73.

hanging softly. The beautiful swan depicted behind the goddess faces to the right. To almost the same age belongs the Bharhut figure of Sarasvatī.¹

The image of Sarasvatī from Gaḍag,² a fair example of Chālukyan art seated in *virāsana* has four arms; but unfortunately all of them are missing. The figure of a pretty swan, with women in dancing postures on both the sides, is carved in the midst of the pedestal.

Sarasvatī from Bagali,³ another Chālukyan specimen, is also seated in the *virāsana* pose; but she does not hold the attributes usually met with in her hands. Of course, the front right hand exhibits *vyākhyāna mudrā* along with an *akṣamālā* and the front left hand holds a manuscript; but the back right hand instead of a lotus carries an *aṅkuśa* and the back left hand a *pāśa* in place of *vinā*. Here she is conceived as a Śakti of Śiva and represented as described in the *Devī Mahātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

An image of dancing Sarasvatī in western Chālukyan style of the 10th century A.D.⁴ is depicted with six hands carrying *paraśu* in the upper right hand and branches of the *kalpa* tree in the upper left and holding and playing on *vinā* by the lower left; other hands being broken. She is dancing in the *bhujāṅga-trasita* mode, the left foot reaching the right thigh.

Another image of Sarasvatī in the Kaṭṭeśvara temple at Hirahadgalli⁵ has four hands, one of the right hands being broken at the elbow. She is seated with piers behind supporting a scroll of canopy. A swan is depicted on the pedestal. A fine stone image of Sarasvatī is in the Mahākuṭeśvara temple at Mahākūṭa⁶ (Bijapur district).

A beautiful image of Sarasvatī in the Chālukyan Bhimeśvara temple at Bhimavaram⁷ is seated in the *padmāsana* on a lotus. She has four hands exhibiting *abhaya* pose by the lower right hand and holding a rosary, a *vinā*, and a book in the remaining hands.

In the temple of the Heroes at Karempudi,⁸ against the eastern wall, is the image of Sarasvatī in sitting posture. This image of the Haihayas has four arms of which three are broken and the fourth is holding a club. Beneath is shown a swan, her vehicle.

1. Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 314.

2. Rao, EHI, I, pt. II, p. 377, pl. CXIII; Cousens, H., *Chalukyan Architecture*, pp. 109-12.

3. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 377, pl. CXV.

4. Gravely, F., *Illustrations of Indian Sculptures*: Madras Govt. Museum, pl. XXI.

5. JIH, XLI, pt. iii, Dec. 1963, p. 692.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Prof. M. Rama Rao's Index.

8. JAHRS, XXVI, p. 9.

A six-armed image of Sarasvatī seated on a pedestal containing the figure of a swan is found in the Bhrameśvara temple at Śrīśailam.¹ She is holding a *pāśa* and a *paraśu* in the upper right hands and an *aṅkuśa* and another object in the upper left hands, the lower in *varada mudrā*. Here also the goddess is represented as the Śakti of Śiva.

A beautiful figure of Sarasvatī from the Bṛhadeśvara temple at Tanjore² represents her seated erect in the *vīrāsana* pose. She is two-armed, holding a manuscript in her left hand which is placed on the thigh, the right hand being broken. She wears a tall *mukuta* with a canopied projection over which rises a tree—signifying the tree of knowledge (*jñāna*), as the Bodhi-tree in the Vajrāsana Buddha figure indicates.³ The goddess is fully bejewelled and puts on a breast-band (*kucha-bandha*), which is not found in the north Indian images of the goddess.

Another figure of Sarasvatī from the Bṛhadeśvara temple⁴ is of larger size and forceful execution. Seated in *ardhaparyāṅka*, the goddess has two hands, holding a book in the left hand, the right one being broken. There is a beautiful umbrella with branches of a tree above.

In the Hoyasala art, 'the ornamentation is heavy, elaborate, and unrestrained'. Sarasvatī with elaborated features makes her appearance several times on the Hoyasaleśvara temple at Halebid,⁵ where she is shown six-armed, and sometimes even dancing.⁶ The six-armed dancing image of Sarasvatī from Halebid has been considered as the Śakti of Śiva, holding lotus, rosary, *aṅkuśa*, *pāśa*, *viṇā*, and *pustaka*. She is flanked by two *chauri*-bearers, and, near her feet, her vehicle, the swan, is shown. She wears a *jaṭā-mukuta* and is decked with various ornaments (Fig. 26).

Another dancing image of Sarasvatī, also from Halebid,⁷ has facial expression exactly similar to the preceding one. Her crown is smaller, but there are *chhatra*, *prabhāmaṇḍala*, and *toraṇa* as in the previous example. She possesses four hands holding in the upper right a *śūla*, in the upper left a noose, and in the lower left a *kamaṇḍaku*. She is fully ornamented. As for her posture, her left foot is placed just below the right knee and her right foot rests on a lotus. On the left is a man beating cymbal, another standing with hands folded in *anjali* pose and on the right is a man beating a drum.

1. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, p. 377, pl. CXIV.

2. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, p. 377, pl. CXIV.

3. Banerjee, *DHI*, p. 379, pl. XX.5.

4. Sastri, K.A.N., *The Cholas*, pp. 729, 759, pl. XXIII.54.

5. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, pp. 377-78, pl. CXVI, figs. 1 and 2.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. CXVI.2; Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 119.

7. *JIH*, XLI, pt. iii, December, 1963, p. 692.

The image of Sarasvatī playing on a *vīṇā* from Madurāi¹ is a specimen of the Nāyaka school which reached its climax under Tīrumala Nāyaka (A.D. 1523-1557) at Śrīraṅgam, Kumbakonam, Madurāi. This image is in *trbhaṅga* posture playing on a *vīṇā* with both the hands.

Basically, the images of Sarasvatī from northern India do not differ iconographically from her south Indian counterparts. Images of the goddess from northern India, however, rarely represent her as the Śakti of Śiva. Sarasvatī with more than four arms is not known in the northern part of the country, nor has she been shown with a breast-band (*kucha-bandha*). The vehicle, which is a swan, however, remains the same both in the northern and the southern India. No figure from south India has either a ram or a lion as the vehicle of the goddess.

It is interesting that certain other persons, besides the goddess, who are worshipped in the form of images, should have worshipped her. Rather a special worship is paid to her in honour in the last night of the dark half of the month of Kārtika every year when the Festival of Lights is celebrated all over the country.

There seems to be a very interesting history connected with the early image of the goddess. Archaeological excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro have brought to light numerous terracotta female figurines, practically nude, some of very unpretentious shape, seated in the *prāṇa* and the *śūla*. These fantastic figures, wearing a quantity of jewelry and a curious fish-shaped head-dress with heavy hips and thin waist, found almost invariably in a damaged condition, have been identified to be the figures of Mother Goddess, whose worship was widely prevalent in Mesopotamia and the lands of the ancient Mediterranean in the 4th-3rd millennium B.C.² These figurines, together with the female diversity with elaborate head-dress and ornaments, are generally supposed to be the goddess presiding over riches. An interesting relief from Harappa represents her with a plant issuing from her womb,³ thereby emphasising her character as being the goddess of fertility.

In this connection mention may be made of a large number of clay figurines, which are now kept in a collection at the Ashmolean Museum, found from Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, which appear to be most important objects connected with the cult of Mother Goddess. These clay figurines have been regarded by Marshall⁴ as representing three of the female types of generation, symbolising motherhood and fertility. He further observes: "In these figurines, which are little more than small, perhaps ex-

1. Mackay, E., *Early Indian Civilisation*, p. 33, pl. XXV.1.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

3. *Ibid.*, chap. XVIII; Marshall, J., *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, I, p. 32 (cf. a terracotta relief of early Gupta period from Rādhā which shows a similar female figure in much the same posture, but with a lotus issuing from her womb, instead of from her womb—*ASIA*, 1911-12, pl. XXII.10).

4. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

1. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 138; Goswami, A., *Indian Temple Sculpture*, pl. 138.

LAKṢMĪ

LAKṢMĪ is one of the most popular goddesses of the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jainas alike. She is considered to be the goddess of beauty, fortune and fertility. It is, therefore, but natural that persons desirous of attaining material prosperity should have worshipped her. Rather a special worship is enjoined in her honour in the last night of the dark half of the month of Kārttika every year when the Festival of Lights is celebrated all over the country.

There seems to be a very interesting history connected with the early career of the goddess. Archaeological excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro have brought to light numerous terracotta female figurines, practically nude, 'save for very abbreviated skirt secured by the girdle round the loins'.¹ These female figures wearing a quantity of jewelery and a curious fan-shaped head-dress with heavy hips and thin waists, found almost invariably in a damaged condition, have been identified to be the figures of Mother Goddess, whose worship was widely prevalent in Mesopotamia and the lands of the ancient Mediterranean, in the 4th-3rd millennium B.C.² These terracotta figurines of the feminine divinity with elaborate head-dress and ornaments strongly suggest her to be the goddess presiding over riches. An interesting seal from Harappa represents her with a plant issuing from her womb,³ thereby emphasising her character as being the goddess of fertility.

In this connection mention may be made of a large number of ring-stones, varying in sizes from half an inch to four feet in diameter, found from Harappa and Mohenjodaro, which appear to be most important objects connected with the cult of Mother Goddess. These ring-stones have been regarded by Marshall⁴ as representations of the female organ of generation, symbolising motherhood and fertility. He further observes⁵ : 'In these ring-stones, which are quite small and used perhaps ex-

1. Mackay, E., *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 53, pl. XVI.2.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

3. *Ibid.*, chap. XVIII; Marshall, J., *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 52 (cf. a terracotta relief of early Gupta period from Bhita which shows a similar female figure in much the same posture, but with a lotus issuing from her neck, instead of from her womb—*ASIAR*, 1911-12, pl. XXIII.40).

4. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

voto offerings, nude figures of a goddess of fertility are significantly engraved with consummate skill and care inside the central hole, thus indicating in a manner that can hardly be mistaken the connection between them and the female principle'. This statement leaves hardly any doubt that these ring-stones were intimately associated with the conception of the Mother Goddess.

A gold leaf unearthed at Lauriya-Nandangarh¹ has the figure of a nude female stamped upon it. She cannot be definitely named; but she has usually been interpreted as the Mother Goddess in her aspect as Mother Earth. Bloch² takes her to be a Vedic Earth Goddess. Standing in a strictly frontal pose, she is completely nude, with her sex emphasised and also characterised by an exaggerated hip, a narrow waist and full breasts (heavy hip denoting maternity and fertility; breasts the bounty of life). She has thus unmistakable characteristics associating her with the Mother Goddess of the Indus Valley period. Bloch³ has assigned the Lauriya gold leaf figure to pre-Mauryan period, in the 8th-7th century B.C.; it is, however, possible to regard it somewhat later. Similar figures have been found in the Stūpa at Piprahwa in the Basti district⁴ (U.P.) of the 4th-3rd century B.C. and at Tilpat near Delhi.⁵

Small discs, with or without central holes, have been found at Bhir Mound in Taxila, Sankisā, Mathurā, Kosam, Rājghāt, Basārḥ⁶ and Patna⁷ with female figures appearing on certain of the decorated pieces along with the figures of mythical animals, *makaras*, alligators, horses and palm trees. These can be dated in the 3rd century B.C. or even a century or two later. Thus the Hathial disc⁸ has four nude figures, alternating with honey-suckles arranged in the central hole emphasising the essential character of the goddess. The Rājghāt seal⁹ has an interesting decoration consisting of a palm-tree with a horse by its side and a female figure holding a bud in her outstretched right hand, followed in successive order by a long-eared and short-tailed animal, a crane, the female again, then a winged mythical animal and lastly a crane with a crab-like object near its legs. Another fragmentary disc from Rājghāt¹⁰ has two nude female figures with outstretched hands engraved around the central hole. On the flat ends, there are two monkey-like creatures with a *makara* between them. Still another partly broken and inscribed disc from Kosam (in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan)¹¹ is decorated with nude female figures and a row of *makaras*. Stone

1. ASIAR, 1906-07, pp. 122-23, fig. 4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

4. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, p. 5.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

6. Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, pp. 170-71.

7. JBRs, XXXVII, pp. 178 ff.

8. ASIAR, 1927-28, p. 66, pl. XX, fig. 7.

9. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 170.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

disks from Murtaziganj¹ (Patna) belonging to the Mauryan period also bear figures of nude standing females and those of palm-trees and certain animals. The nude females carved on the decorated disks resemble very closely the Lauriya gold-plaque representation. These female figures, nude and having heavy hips, have undoubted religious significance, establishing their connection with the terracotta female figurines of the Indus Valley cities, regarded as those of Mother Goddess.

There is a very interesting fragment of an architrave from Kauśāmbī, belonging to the Śuṅga period, now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum.² Beginning from the proper right, first there is the figure of an elephant tusk. Then follows the figure of a female, standing to front on a full blown lotus in the midst of the lotus buds and shrubs, and holding a lotus bud in her hand. On her either side are two elephants standing on lotus flowers with their trunks raised and anointing the female with water poured from the jars held in their trunks. The female is again nude with heavy hips, narrow waist and full breasts, exactly similar in treatment and features already noticed on the gold leaves and the decorated disks. The fact that such a representation of a female is depicted in close association with lotus flowers and as being anointed by a pair of elephants (in the form of Gaja-Lakṣmī) leaves hardly any doubt that the goddess Lakṣmī of the historic times is no other than the Mother Goddess whose effigies have been found on the gold leaves and the small disks of the pre-Mauryan and the Mauryan periods and who have been found widely represented in the Indus Valley as early as the 3rd millennium B.C.

The conclusion receives further confirmation on examining another highly interesting sculpture of great significance, belonging to the Mathurā art³ (c. 1st-2nd century A.D.). Housed in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, it represents a female standing gracefully on lotuses, while a rich growth of lotus plants with leaves, buds and flowers, on which a pair of peacocks is seated, sprouts from a huge water-vessel forming the pedestal of the pillar-like piece and covers the entire back of the figure. Besides wearing elaborate ornaments, pearl necklaces, peacock armlets and a rich girdle, she is indicating with her two hands the chief functions of the maternal principle : the left supports, rather presses, a nourishing breast, while her right indicates her sex, besides holding a small lotus stem of three buds placed at the middle of the girdle in front. Coomaraswamy, on the basis of profuse lotuses surrounding the figure, rightly considers it to represent the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī. Thus the motif of the female figure pressing her breast, the source of all human sustenance, and indicating her sex, the power denoting fertility, possessed of symbolic meaning, demonstrates with certainty the maternal functions which have been hinted at in the earlier female figures by making them naked with their hips

1. *Ibid.*, p. 172; *JBRs*, XXXVII, pp. 178 ff and plates.

2. Kala, S.C., *Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum*, p. 28, pl. XVI.

3. Agrawala, V.S., *A Short Guide to the Archaeological Section of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, pp. 14-15, fig. 8.

exaggerated and breasts fully rounded. It further demonstrates the qualities of a Mother Goddess that came to be attached to the goddess Lakṣmī, thereby identifying the two with one another. And as it is fully adorned with elaborate ornaments, it also suggests her to be the goddess of wealth.

Coming to the Vedic period, there are a number of feminine divinities who have been occasionally mentioned in the Ṛk and other Saṃhitās, the earliest known literature of the Indians. With the exception of Aditi, little significance has been attached to them. Puramdhi,¹ regarded as the Vedic form of the Āvestan Parendī, appears as the goddess of plenty, and Rākā² as a rich and beautiful goddess. Vāsini, the 'ruling goddess', mentioned in various Gṛhyasūtras, 'is probably the Mother Goddess who despite all Vedic influences, always was the chief spiritual village power identified with Śiva's wife in various forms'.³ Sinivālī, another interesting goddess called Viṣṇu's wife in the *Atharvaveda*,⁴ is described as the sister of the gods, fair-armed, fair-fingered, prolific and mistress of the family (*viśpatnī*) and is invoked for granting offspring;⁵ and elsewhere, she and Sarasvatī are asked to bear progeny.⁶ It is, however, difficult to say which of these goddesses might have served the sole prototype of goddess Lakṣmī, for all of them are goddesses of plenty and reminiscent of the goddess as such.⁷ Words like 'Śrī' no doubt occur in the *Ṛg-veda*, but they do not stand for the goddess as such, rather they are used in a general way connoting beauty.⁸ This conception of 'Śrī', however, does not disappear in the later Vedic literature, rather the abstract conception of Śrī takes a concrete form in the curious story narrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which relates how Śrī of Prajāpati was driven out by his *tapas* from within himself⁹ when he became tired of creating beings, and stood there brilliant, shining and sensuous like a heavenly woman. 'Here we can clearly see', remarks Motichandra,¹⁰ 'the transference of an abstract idea of beauty to the visual form of a heavenly body, possibly the Great Mother Goddess of the pre-Aryan India, who possibly carried within herself the idea of beauty and plentitude'. The story proceeds on: "Her beauty and resplendence made the gods envy her, and they wanted to kill her; but Prajāpati dissuaded them from this as she was a female, and asked them to take away all her attributes from her, sparing her life. 'Then Agni, Soma, Varuṇa,

1. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 124.

2. *RV*, 2.32.7; 5.42.12.

3. *JUPHS*, XXI, pts. i-ii, p. 19.

4. *AV*, VIII. 46, 3.

5. *AV*, II.32, 6 and 7.

6. *AV*, X.184.

7. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 371.

8. *RV*, 1.87.6: 'Sriyase kaṃ bhānubhiḥ saṃ mimiskire' (the Maruts wish to sprinkle rain water with shining rays of the sun).

9. *Śat. Brāhm.*, XI.4, 1 ff.

10. *JUPHS*, XXI, pts. i-ii, 1948, p. 21.

Mitra, Indra, Br̥haspati, Savitr̥, Puṣan, Sarasvatī and Tvastṛ took from her food, kingdom, universal sovereignty, noble rank, power, holy lustre, dominion, wealth, prosperity and beautiful forms respectively. Then on Prajāpati's advice, she after offering ten sacrificial dishes to the ten divinities had every thing restored to her'.¹ According to Banerjea,² the inner significance of the story is not difficult to understand and the goddess embodies all the major good things coveted by man. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*³ also emphasises this character of the goddess where Śrī is said to bring garments, cows, food, and drink : 'therefore bring me Śrī'.

It may, however, be noted that both Śrī and Lakṣmī appear together in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*⁴ and the *Vājasaneyi*⁵ as the two heavenly women, the combination leading to the complete identification of the two. No difference whatsoever is, however, noticeable between Śrī and Lakṣmī in the *Śrī-sūkta*,⁶ a late supplement of the *Ṛg-veda*, datable before the Pāli Buddhist texts. In a hymn of this literary document, she is called 'the one possessed of the lotus' (*padminī*), 'the one standing on lotus' (*padmeṣṭhitā*), 'the lotus-coloured' (*padma-varṇā*), and 'the lotus-born' (*padma-sambhavā*). She is 'lotus-eyed' (*padmākṣī*), has her thighs lotus-like (*padma-ūrū*), has a lotus-face (*padmānana*), dwells in the lotus-lake (*sarasijanilayā*), is fond of the lotus (*padmapṛyā*) and carries a lotus in her hand (*padma-hastā*). She is delighted by the trumpeting of elephants (*hastī-nāda-pramodinī*). She is the goddess of the fertility of soil, which is derived from water, and she bestows 'gold, cows, horses and slaves'. She is, therefore, the goddess of prosperity and riches. She wears 'garlands of gold and silver' and is the very embodiment of royal splendour, bestowing fame (*kīrtti*) and success (*ṛddhi*), and granting prosperity and long life, health and offspring. She is also the 'goddess earth' (*Kṣamādevī*) and the mother of all creatures (*prajānam bhavasī mātā*).⁷ In the opinion of Coomaraswamy,⁸ lotus is a symbol of waters and as such connected with fertility. The deity is invoked to destroy *alakṣmī*,⁹ bad luck, poverty, and to bestow cattle and progeny. She is connected with vegetation and the *bilva* (wood-apple) tree is especially hers.¹⁰

It is in the epics that she attains her full iconographic significance, in which her various traits are referred to in different contexts. She is said to have been churned

1. *Śat. Brāhm.*, XI, 4, 1 ff.

2. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

3. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, I.4.

4. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X.46.

5. *Vājasaneyi*, XXXI.1.

6. *Śrī-sūkta*, X.11, 14.

7. Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, pp. 159-60.

8. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *The Eastern Art*, I, p. 173.

9. *RV*, *Khilāni*, II. 6. 5.

10. *Ibid.*, v, 6.

out of the ocean along with the Uchchaisravā horse, wine, nectar, etc.¹ and she fell to the share of Viṣṇu. She is treated in the epic as the mother of Kāmadeva,² and in that capacity, she bore on her hand a *makara* as an auspicious symbol. Her close association with Kubera is also emphasised in some passages of the *Mahābhārata*. She is described as attending the court of Kubera in the company of Nalakubera (sometimes described as Kubera's son).³ Elsewhere, Yakṣeśa is described as united with Lakṣmī.⁴ In the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁵ she is said to be represented on Kubera's car with lotus in her hand. She is also luck. At one place in the *Mahābhārata*⁶ she asserts : "All virtues strive to attain my qualities. I am success, steadfastness, prosperity". Her association with lotus is also emphasised in such epithets as *padmālayā*, *padmahastā*, etc. In some later epic passages, she is expressly named as Kubera's consort, and the ideological union of the goddess of prosperity with the god of riches is easily understandable.⁷

The goddess Lakṣmī is treated with scant respect in the Buddhist literature, the *Milindapaṇha*.⁸ In the *Sirikālakaraṇi Jātaka*,⁹ Siri-mātā, regent of the east, is made to say, 'I preside over the course of conduct that gives lordship to mankind; I am beauty (Siri), fortune (*lakṣmī*) and prudence (*bhūripaṇṇā*)'. In another Jātaka,¹⁰ Siri, beautiful as a morning star, says : 'The man to whom I wish joy, enjoys all pleasures'. In the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*,¹¹ she is simply the goddess who gives luck to the kingdom (*rajja-siridāyika-devatā*), an epithet which goes very well with her conception in the Gupta period.

Śrī-Lakṣmī maintains her auspicious character in the Jaina literature. In the *Kalpasūtra*,¹² Śrī is one of the fourteen auspicious dreams of Tṛiśalā forestalling the birth of Mahāvīra. Her description clearly follows her iconographic representations. She is described as 'wearing a garland of *dīnāras* (gold coins) on her breast, reposing on a lotus of the lotus-lake amidst the height of the Himālayas, anointed by the waters (poured upon her) by the strong thick trunks of the elephants of the quarters.

In the mediaeval Hindu literature, the epic conception of Śrī-Lakṣmī persists. As a goddess of fortune, lotus in hand, she consorted with kings.¹³ Heroines are

1. *Mbh.*, I, 110, 111.
2. *Mbh.*, I.61, 44; 67, 156.
3. *Mbh.*, II.10, 19.
4. *Mbh.*, III.168, 3.
5. *Rām.*, V. 7, 14.
6. *Mbh.*, XII.83, 45.
7. Banerjee, *DHI*, p. 372.
8. *Milindapaṇha*, 191.
9. *Jātaka* no. 392.
10. *Jātaka* no. 535.
11. *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, ii.17.
12. *Kalpasūtra*, 36.
13. *Raghuvamśa*, IV.5.

compared to her for their beauty. Sometimes she is also abused for her fickleness.

Śrī-Lakṣmī has been described in the *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi*¹ as white complexioned, seated on a lotus, holding *śrī-phala* in her right hand and lotus in the left, with two elephants anointing her. According to the *Nayasamgraha*,² she would have lotus in her hand, a lotus garland, and elephants bathing her. The *Matsya Purāṇa*³ also mentions that Gaja-Lakṣmī bathed by two elephants should carry *śrī-phala* and lotus in her hands. She is of golden colour and seated on a lotus. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*,⁴ when accompanied by Hari, she should have two arms carrying beautiful lotuses in them; but when represented separately, she should have four arms, seated upon a lotus pericarp and holding a lotus with a long stalk in her right hand and a nectar-pot in the left, with a conch and a *bilva*-fruit in the remaining ones. On her either side is an elephant emptying water on her head from pots presented by attendant celestial maidens. The *Śilparatna*⁵ also describes her two or four-armed and mentions that the two-armed figure accompanying Viṣṇu should have *bilva*-fruit in the right and lotus in the left hands, whereas the four-armed goddess⁶ may have the same objects in her hands as recounted in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* or lotus in two of her hands and the remaining ones exhibiting *varada* and *abhaya* poses.⁷ It also provides two elephants anointing her and adds that her eight-petalled lotus seat should be placed upon a *simhāsana*. The *Amśumadbhedāgama*,⁸ which describes her differently, mentions her golden-yellow, like that of a maiden who has just attained her age, very handsome in appearance, with a lotus flower and a *bilva*-fruit in her hands. There are also texts which refer to her not only two or four-armed, but rarely many-armed,⁹ the two-armed varieties being more common.¹⁰ Nearly all the texts describe her as well dressed, decked with various ornaments, having such physical traits as fully developed breasts, a narrow waist and heavy buttocks indicative of radiant and healthy motherhood wherein lies the real beauty of a female body, and, according to Banerjea,¹¹ a comparatively late text names such a type as *Nyagrodha-parimaṇḍala*.

The *Viśvakarmaśāstra*,¹² however, describes the figure of Mahā-Lakṣmī as found in a Kolhapur (Karavīra) temple (W. Deccan) as holding a vessel (*pātra*) and a club

1. *Abhilaṣit.*, 3/1/838.

2. *Chaturvarga.*, 2/78.

3. *Matsya P.*, ch. 261.40.

4. *Viṣṇudh.*, Bk. III, ch. 82, 1-16.

5. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, p. 374.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 373-74.

9. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 373.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 373 (*Hārāvali* as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*).

12. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 375, pl. CXII.

(*gadā* named *Kaumodakī*) in her right hands and a shield (*kheṭaka*) and a wood-apple (*bilva*-fruit) in the left. Her developed form with eighteen arms and various weapons is described in the *Devī-Mahātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,¹ but according to Banerjea,² it illustrates 'one of the primary aspects of the principal cult-icon of the Śāktas, which stands for the supreme fountain-head of all divine power'.

A distinguishing feature of the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī is her close association with lotus symbolising waters. As pointed out by Coomaraswamy,³ in iconography, Śrī-Lakṣmī is associated with lotus in three different ways : (i) *padma-hastā*, in which she holds the lotus in her right hand, (ii) she is supported by an expanded lotus flower serving as *pīṭha* and (iii) as *padma-vāsīnī* or *padmālayā* type in which she is surrounded by flowering stems and growing leaves; also at times holding the lotus in each hand. Elephant is significantly associated with Śrī-Lakṣmī in her representations as Gaja-Lakṣmī or Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī. It is noteworthy that at Bhārhut a frail flower like lotus is associated with an elephant standing over it, because of its association with water as the source of all life. The extended lotus in mediaeval period signifying the manifested universe and the lotus as symbol of purity are of secondary development. In the words of Coomaraswamy,⁴ 'the fundamental conception as expressed in later Vedic literature and in the early iconography is that of the waters, as the support, both ultimate and physical, of all life and specially of the each, whence there follows naturally the use as *āsana* and *pīṭha*'.

All these types of Lakṣmī figures as recounted above appear on the tribal coins of ancient India. She can be seen seated to front on a fully blossomed lotus on the Ujjayinī coins.⁵ She appears also as standing on a lotus pedestal with a lotus flower in her hand on the coins of the Kuninda ruler Amoghabhūti,⁶ on the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā such as Gomitra,⁷ Brahmamitra,⁸ Dṛḍhamitra,⁹ Sūryamitra,¹⁰ Viṣṇumitra,¹¹ Puruṣadatta,¹² Uttamadatta,¹³ Balabhūti,¹⁴ Rāmadatta,¹⁵ and Kāmadatta,¹⁶ on the coins of the Kṣātrapas of Mathurā such as Śivadatta¹⁷ and Hagā-

1. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

3. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *The Eastern Art*, I, p. 178.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Allan, J., *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. 252, pl. XXXVIII, 23, 24 and 25.

6. *Ibid.*, pls. XXII.1-16, XXIII.1-10.

7. *Ibid.*, pls. XXV.1-7, XLIV.6, XLV.1.

8. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV.12-14.

9. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII.16.

10. *Ibid.*, pls. XXV.17-21, XLIV.9.

11. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV.15-16.

12. *Ibid.*, pls. XXIV.1-4, XLIV.10.

13. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.15-17.

14. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV.22-24.

15. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.5-14.

16. *Ibid.*, pls. XXIV.18, XXIX.24.

17. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV.26.

masa,¹ on the coins of the Rājanya Jānapada² and on those of Bhadrageṣa of Pāñchāla.³ In the Gaja-Lakṣmī form, she makes her appearance on the Ujjayini⁴ and the uninscribed Kauśāmbi coins,⁵ on the coins of Viśākhadeva⁶ and Śivadatta⁷ of Ayodhyā and on the coins of foreign rulers Rañjuvula⁸ and Śodāsa,⁹ the Kṣatrapa rulers of Mathurā. The so-called dancing girls, in oriental costume, holding flower in the right hands¹⁰ have been rightly recognised by Coomaraswamy to be the figures of Śrī-Lakṣmī. The patron goddess of Pushkalāvati represented on the unique Indo-Scythian coin¹¹ has also been recognised by Coomaraswamy as Śrī-Lakṣmī. She appears also on the coins of Azilises¹² between two elephants. The appearance of Śrī-Lakṣmī on the coins of the rulers of different faiths proves that at least the benign and wealth-giving personality of this goddess was accepted by all.

Śrī-Lakṣmī appears also on the railings and the gateways at Bhārhut, Bodhgayā and Sāñchī datable in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. One of the female figures at Bhārhut standing to front with even feet and holding some flower (looking like *dhaturā* or a bunch of lotus) with raised right hand is labelled as Sirimā-devatā.¹³ Her name 'Siri' is very characteristic and the epithet 'mā' particularly noteworthy, suggesting thereby the mother aspect of the goddess Śrī (Siri—Śrī, mā—mātā, mother). A female standing on a full blown lotus and holding a lotus in her raised right hand at Bhārhut¹⁴ closely approximates to Śrī-Lakṣmī type. In the railing at Bodhgayā,¹⁵ she stands on the pericarp of a lotus blossom, keeping the heels of the feet in touch with each other and the toes wide apart. She remains standing in a delightful pose holding a bunch of lotus-buds in one hand and that of lotus blossoms in the other, her hands being stretched forth horizontally from her two sides. In the Stūpa at Sāñchī datable in the Śuṅga period,¹⁶ Śrī-Lakṣmī is depicted at one place as Kamalālayī, standing in the growing lotus plants, holding blossoming lotus flowers in both the hands. At another place,¹⁷ she holds a lotus in her right hand and perhaps a towel in the left—a developed form of which is usually met with on the Gupta gold coins, where Śrī is shown holding a ribbon or a towel.

1. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI.1-5.

2. *Ibid.*, pls. XXIX.10-13, 15-23, XLIV.6, 7, 13.

3. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII.1-3.

4. *Ibid.*, pls. XXIII.24, XXVI.4-5.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. XX. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. XVI.14-15.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII.4-5.

8. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI.12-13.

9. *Ibid.*, pls. XXV.25, XXVI.14-18, XLIII.15, 17.

10. Whitehead, *PMC*, I, p. 16, pl. II.35 and p. 17, pl. II.45.

11. Gardner, *BMC*, p. 162.

12. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 31; *White King Sale Catalogue*, pt. i, pl. IV.299.

13. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 15, a; Barua, B.M., *Barhut*, III.

14. Coomaraswamy, *The Eastern Art*, I, fig. 14.

15. Barua, B.M., *Gaya and Bodh-Gaya*, II, pp. 96-97.

16. Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi*, III, pl. LXXV, 9a.

17. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXVI, 12b, 15a; LXXXVIII, 20b.

Śrī-Lakṣmī appears also on some terracottas of the Śuṅga period from Baśārḥ. One of the terracotta fragments¹ has a female figure standing on a lotus fully blossomed with lotus plants shown growing around her, her hands placed on the hips. She is lean and thin and possesses wings—a feature quite un-Indian (Fig. 27). Bloch has, however, attributed it to the Persian affinities of the Lichchavis; but it seems unlikely in view of an isolated example which cannot be taken as positive evidence. It is just possible that Iranian influence infiltrated into Bihar with the Śaka invasion of north India in the 1st century B.C. Such identical finds with marked Iranian influence tend to suggest the penetration of the Śaka culture much beyond Mathurā in the east.

The Abhiṣeka or Gajalakṣmī type of the goddess seems to be very popular for it occurs not only on the coins but also constantly on the seals, in the terracottas and in the reliefs at Bhārḥut, Bodhgayā and Sāñchī; but appears to be unknown at Mathurā and Amarāvātī. Thus from 200 B.C. onwards or even from a little earlier period, the representation of Gajalakṣmī has been common mainly in the north. At Bhārḥut, one of the quadrant rail medallions² shows the goddess seated cross-legged on a lotus with her hands folded under her breast, while two elephants standing on her either side are pouring water over her head from two inverted jars held in their trunks. Another medallion³ shows the elaborately dressed goddess standing and being anointed by two elephants, with her right hand placed over her left breast, conveying the idea of the mother rich in milk. In the representations of Gajalakṣmī at Bhārḥut, it is significant to note that the lotus of the seat springs from a full vase (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*), representing waters, prosperity and abundance.⁴ Similar representation of the goddess appears also on a coping stone.⁵

The basic conception of the goddess remains practically the same in her representations on the gateways at Sāñchī. Thus at one place,⁶ she is shown standing on a full blossomed lotus with folded hands, while two elephants, standing on lotuses springing from the same spray, give her bath from upturned jars, held in their trunks. An interesting point with this relief is her association with a *Yakṣa mithuna*, standing between two jars, the man holding a lotus bud in his right hand. At the base is represented the lotus tree of life with two lions and two deers, and the tortoise at the bottom signifying the connection of the motif with the water cosmology. The goddess appears at another place⁷ in the Stūpa at Sāñchī, but this time not only the goddess but also the genii (the woman has gone over to the right) stand on lotus

1. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 116, pl. XLIV, no. 550.

2. Barua, B.M., *Barhut*, I, p. 85; III, p. 47, fig. 79.

3. *ibid.*, I, p. 85; III, p. 47, fig. 80.

4. Sharma, B.N., Abhiṣeka in Indian Art, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XXI, 1 & 2, pp. 168-69, pl. I.

5. Barua, B.M., *op. cit.*, fig. 80a.

6. Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, III, pl. LXXXIII, 49.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXVII, 71a.

pedestals—the man holding a lotus bud in the left hand and the woman in the right. It is also remarkable that one of the two *padmas* set above the elephants in the previous example has been replaced by an umbrella apparently signifying coronation of Gajalakṣmī. The base of the panel is occupied by two palmettes set one above the other.

In the 1st century B.C. as well, the concept of Gajalakṣmī continues to be a favourite subject. Her most interesting representation occurs on the middle section of the front architrave of the southern gateway of the Great Sāñchī Stūpa.¹ Here the goddess stands on a fully blossomed lotus with her left hand on the hip and a lotus in her right hand and is being anointed by two elephants, likewise supported by open lotus flowers. The whole surface of the lintel is covered from end to end with stalks, leaves, buds and flowers, among which a couple of Indian geese (*hamsa*) are set on each side. In the east end of the front of the Northern Gateway² where a very advanced representation of the goddess occurs, she is represented as holding a lotus bud in her right hand and a towel in the left. Umbrella behind the jars held in the two elephant trunks can be discerned. In another representation,³ Gajalakṣmī is seated comfortably on the pericarp of a full-blown lotus, with her left leg tucked up on the seat and the right one pendent and placed on another lotus of smaller size. Lotuses on which the goddess sits and the elephants which anoint her stand are rounded in form. The goddess has a lotus in her right hand raised and the left hand placed on her thigh. She appears also in the west end of the back of the Northern Gateway,⁴ in an identical manner, with the only difference that her right leg is tucked up on the seat and left one is pendent. A very artistic representation of the goddess Gajalakṣmī occurs on the south end of the front architrave of the Eastern Gateway⁵ where the goddess is shown seated on an expanded lotus sprouting out of an ornamented vase with her right leg folded and placed on the seat and the left leg hanging down. The two elephants, standing on lotuses issuing from the same vessel, give her a shower bath from either side. The happily balanced combination of supple, grace and hieratical symmetry nothing but draws admiration. Thus in the Gajalakṣmī type, stress is laid on the growing lotus sprays two of which support the feet of the two elephants with uplifted trunks in which they hold inverted jars from which a stream of water falls on the goddess. The elephants, the pitchers, and the water symbolically represent clouds and rains. The inverted vessels are frequently mentioned as rain-clouds. Sometimes they are made to pour out rain by Varuṇa,⁶ and sometimes by Maruts,⁷ the latter indicating the service of

1. *Ibid.*, II, pl. XI.

2. *Ibid.*, II, pl. XXIV.

3. *Ibid.*, II, pl. XXV.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. XXX.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. XLI.

6. *RV*, V, 85, 3-4.

7. *RV*, V, 53, 6.

the howling wind. Thus the water pouring from the inverted jar indicates life-giving rain. It may, however, be noted that, according to Foucher,¹ the Nativity of the Buddha is represented by the figure of Māyā Devī seated or standing on a lotus with or without elephants pouring water from inverted jars. Coomaraswamy identified these figures to be those of Lakṣmī and held the view that Śrī-Lakṣmī has nothing to do with the Nativity scene. Marshall has ably reconciled the conflicting opinion of Foucher and Coomaraswamy by saying² that 'some of the Māyā figures on the balustrades and gateways are identified with the familiar type of Śrī-Lakṣmī, standing or seated on lotus, which the Buddhists evidently appropriated, along with so many other formulae and motifs, from the current art of the period, since it can be hardly doubted that the Śrī-Lakṣmī type goes to more remote age than Buddhism'. According to Havell,³ 'No doubt, as M. Foucher says, this was meant by the sculptor to symbolise the Nativity of the Blessed One. But to many generations of artists before the Buddha's time, it had meant the miraculous birth witnessed every morning when Uṣas rose from the cosmic ocean and the mystic Brahma lotus, the Creator's throne, unfolded its rosy petals. Uṣas was the celestial maiden who opened the doors of the sky and was bathed by Indra's elephants, the rain clouds. In Buddhist times, the meaning of the myth is changed, Brahmā is dethroned and Uṣas becomes the mother of the Blessed One, under the name of Mahā Māyā... In later Indian art she is Lakṣmī, the bright goddess of the day greeting her consort Viṣṇu, the Preserver, as he rises victorious from his conflict with the spirit of darkness and bringing with her the nectar of immortality churned from the Cosmic Ocean.'

In the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period also, Lakṣmī is represented as a two-armed female figure with a lotus in her left hand, the right hand being held in *abhaya mudrā*. Alternatively, she may have lotus in both of her hands. Two elephants sprinkling water over her head is also a common feature noticed in the Kuṣāṇa art. An independent image of Śrī-Lakṣmī, the highly artistic representation from Mathurā, now in the Lucknow Museum,⁴ already referred to, shows her standing with one of her hands pressing her breast and the other pointing the sex, indicating the chief functions of the maternal principle, with a rich growth of lotus plants at her back emerging from a large vase, datable in the 1st-2nd century A.D. In several sculptures of the period, Lakṣmī is associated with Kubera, lord of wealth and riches. As already seen, in the epic,⁵ she is united with Kubera as his wife. A small stone slab of early Kuṣāṇa period⁶ depicts four Brahmanical deities in a group, viz. Ardhanārīśvara, Viṣṇu, Gajalakṣmī and Kubera. The sculpture is evidently an example of syncretic movement set afoot in the Kuṣāṇa age. Lakṣmī is shown two-armed hav-

1. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 70.

2. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, I, p. 39, f.n. 1.

3. Havell, E.B., *A Hand Book of Indian Art*, p. 33.

4. Agrawala, V.S., *A Short Guide Book to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, pp. 14-15, fig. 8; Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, pl. 74-75, b and c.

5. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

6. Agrawala *Cat. of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, pp. ix and 41, no. 2520.

ing a canopy over her head and holding a lotus in her left hand, with a pair of elephants surmounting the figure of the goddess, which unmistakably identify her with Gaḷalakṣmī. A Kuṣāṇa statuette¹ from Mathurā shows Lakṣmī holding a lotus, Bhadrā holding a fruit and Hārītī a child, with Kubera as the fourth figure. Another² of nearly the same date represents Kubera holding a cup and two female divinities seated in front side by side. One of the goddesses holds a lotus and can be identified with Lakṣmī.

Śrī-Lakṣmī and Gaḷa-Lakṣmī are favourite of the motifs appearing on the gold coins and the seals of the Gupta period. On the Gupta gold coins Śrī-Lakṣmī has been represented in varieties of ways. The Standard type of Samudragupta's coins³ represents the goddess seated on a high-backed throne, holding a fillet (noose) in her outstretched right hand and a cornucopiae, the symbol of fertility, in the left resting on her left shoulder; her pendent feet resting on a circular mat. Here we find the goddess as a close imitation of Ardokṣho appearing on the later Kuṣāṇa coins.⁴ She is similarly represented on the Archer⁵ and usually on the Battle-axe⁶ types of Samudragupta and on the Standard⁷ and a few coins of the Archer⁸ types of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. On the reverse of the Lyrist type⁹ of Samudragupta also she appears with the same attributes but seated not on a throne but on a wicker-stool to left. Indianisation of the motif, however, begins to be noticed on the coins of the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta. Instead of a circular mat or a carpet, a lotus is replaced below the feet of the goddess. Even one of the coins¹⁰ of this type shows the goddess carrying a lotus bud with a long stalk in her left hand, instead of a cornucopiae, other features being identical, showing thereby that the process of identifying Ardokṣho with Śrī-Lakṣmī was nearing completion. On the coins of Kācha,¹¹ though she is shown standing on a mat, she holds flower in her right hand and a cornucopiae in the left, excepting in one instance¹² in which she continues to carry a noose instead of a flower. On the throne-reverse coins of the Archer type of Chandragupta II, she is shown seated on a cushioned throne with her right hand bent and extended and the left hand placed on the waist or the thigh; her both the dangling feet resting on a circular mat. Sometimes she is seen carrying a noose in her right hand and a lotus in the left;¹³ sometimes her right hand is empty while she has

1. *Ibid.*, pp. x-xi, no. o.241.

2. *Ibid.*, no. c.30.

3. Altekar, *GGC, BH*, pls. I, 11-15, II and III.

4. Whitehead, R.B., *PMC*, I, p. 212, pl. XIX.236 and 237.

5. Altekar, *GGC, BH*, pls. V.15; VI.1-2.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. V, 7-14.

7. *JNSI*, 1947, p. 146, pl. VII.3.

8. Altekar, *GGC, BH*, pls. VIII. 6, 9, 10, 13-15; IX. 1, 3-5.

9. *Ibid.*, pl. VI.3-8.

10. *Ibid.*, pl. V. 6.

11. *Ibid.*, pls. VI.11-VII.10.

12. *Ibid.*, pl. VII. 11.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 70, no. 216; p. 72, 231; pl. VIII. 11, 12; pl. IX. 2 etc.

a cornucopiae resting on her shoulder¹ or a lotus² in the left hand. Sometimes she is scattering round objects, presumably coins by her right hand and holding a cornucopiae in the left.³ She appears on the lotus-reverse class⁴ of this type also with noose and lotus in her hands; but here she sits cross-legged and that too not on a throne but on a fully blossomed lotus. She appears again on the Couch type of Chandragupta seated to front on a lotus covered backless throne, with her right leg raised up on the couch and the left hanging by the side;⁵ or seated on a backless throne with both the legs hanging down with the right hand being empty⁶ or carrying a noose⁷ and the left holding a lotus.⁸ With noose and lotus, she appears again on the Chhatra type⁹ of Chandragupta II, but standing on a carpet or a mat or a lotus. She figures again on the Chakra-vikrama type¹⁰ carrying a lotus with a long stalk having a bud as well with her left hand and standing on a crude lotus, her right hand apparently pointing upward with the forefinger. On the Archer type of Kumāragupta I, she appears again with noose and lotus in her hands seated to front on a fully blossomed lotus,¹¹ usually cross-legged, but sometimes keeping her right leg pendent.¹² With the same object in her left hand, sometimes she has her right hand empty, and sometimes she is dropping circular coins,¹³ sometimes she has lotus in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left.¹⁴ With noose and lotus in her hands, she occurs on the Swordsman type¹⁵ of Kumāragupta I also, but unlike earlier representations, she is not nimbate. She, however, sits on lotus facing cross-legged. On the Apratigha type,¹⁶ she sits on a full-blown lotus, with a lotus with a long stalk in her right hand, her left hand on waist akimbo. The Elephant-rider type¹⁷ also shows the goddess holding a lotus creeper with buds and flowers in her right hand, her left hand resting on waist and holding cornucopiae, but standing on a lotus. On the Horseman type of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, she appears as on the Lyrist type of Samudragupta, seated to left on a wicker stool but with noose and cornucopiae in her hands. On the coins of Chandragupta

1. *Ibid.*, p. 70, 217; pl. VIII.7, 8.
2. *Ibid.*, pls. VII.12, 13, VIII.1-3.
3. *Ibid.*, pls. VIII. 4, 5, IX. 5.
4. *Ibid.*, pls. VII.14, IX.6-XIII.5.
5. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.11.
6. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.12.
7. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.13.
8. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.12-13.
9. *Ibid.*, pls. XV. 4-XVI.7.
10. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII. 4.
11. *Ibid.*, pls. XIX, XX.1-12, 14-15, XXI.1-4.
12. *Ibid.*, pl. XIX.14-15.
13. *Ibid.*, pl. XX.13.
14. *Ibid.*, pl. XXI.5.
15. *Ibid.*, pl. XXI.6-15.
16. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI.6-13.
17. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI.1-3.

II,¹ she has a noose and a lotus with long stalk, while on those of Kumāragupta I, she displays more varieties, sometimes holding a lotus with long stalk with leaves and buds in the right hand, the left resting on the waist being empty,² sometimes with a noose and a lotus of long stalk³, or in rare cases a flower and the lotus of a long stalk.⁴ The Chhatra type⁵ of Skandagupta also shows the goddess holding a noose in her right hand and a lotus with a long stalk in the left, and standing on a conventional lotus. On the coins of Skandagupta⁶ and his successors, Ghaṭotaka-chagupta,⁷ Narasimhagupta,⁸ Kumāragupta II,⁹ Buddhagupta,¹⁰ Prakāśāditya¹¹ and Samāchāradeva Narendrāditya,¹² the goddess recurs as sitting on a full-blown lotus with a noose and a lotus in her hands.

The Abhiṣeka or Gaja-Lakṣmī type occurs only on the coins of Śaśāṅka and Jaya.¹³ She is, however, very common on the seals of the Gupta period. One of the seals from Basārḥ¹⁴ represents Lakṣmī standing in the midst of a group of trees with elephants pouring water over her, while two dwarfish figures are holding objects like money bags. Gaja-Lakṣmī with a dwarf attendant is also found associated with a money bag on the seal of 'Śreṣṭhi-Sārthavāha-kulika-nigama' (guild of merchants and bankers).¹⁵ Still another seal¹⁶ shows Gaja-Lakṣmī with a male figure kneeling on either side and throwing coins from their bags. Lakṣmī appears also on many other official seals¹⁷ invariably accompanied by a Yakṣa on her either side pouring out money from their purses. Bloch thought the attendants to be Kuberas; but Banerjea¹⁸ identifies them with Yakṣas. The Nālandā seals are also practically of the same type. The seal of the office of the Rājagṛha Viṣaya¹⁹ has a standing figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī flanked by an elephant and a seated corpulent male figure. There are a flag-staff in a pot and flowers on sides. The corpulent figure may be that of a

1. *Ibid.*, pls. XIII.6-XV.3.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.1-6.

3. *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.7, 8, 10-15.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.9.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI.15.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII.1-3; Allan, *BMC, GD*, pl. XIX. 1, 9, and 11.

7. Allan, *BMC, GD*, XXIV.3; Altekar, *GGC, BH*, XXXII.4.

8. Allan, *op. cit.*, XXXII.7; Altekar, *op. cit.*, XXXII.5.

9. Allan, *op. cit.*, XXIII.4; Altekar, *op. cit.*, XXXII.6.

10. *JNSI*, XII, p. 112; Altekar, *op. cit.*, XXXII.7.

11. Allan, *op. cit.*, XXII.3; Altekar, *op. cit.*, XXXII.10.

12. Allan, *op. cit.*, XXIV.4; Altekar, *op. cit.*, XXXII.13.

13. Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 151.

14. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107, seal no. 3.

15. *Ibid.*, seal no. 4.

16. *Ibid.*, seal no. 6.

17. *Ibid.*, seal nos. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, pl. XI.

18. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

19. *MA SI*-66, p. 45; s.i. 798, 198, 804, 813, 817, 808, 691 etc.; also p. 51.

Yakṣa. Another seal¹ also shows Gaja-Lakṣmī standing on a lotus and flanked by a seated male figure on either side. Still another seal² depicts the goddess with a pair of elephants showering water over her, her right hand being on a money-bag or a box kept at her side.

On the Bhīṭā seals, Gaja-Lakṣmī is represented either separately³ or accompanied by Garuḍa, though in case of seal No. 32, Banerjea⁴ is of opinion that it is not a Garuḍa but a *chaurī*. Two interesting points in connection with seal No. 42 may be observed. Firstly, Lakṣmī is holding in her right hand a conch-shell and on the left there is a Garuḍa, and secondly, there are no Yakṣa figures, but two money bags from which coins are pouring out take their place. Two Yakṣas seated on lotus pedestal, however, appear in another magnificent seal.⁵ The famous 'Vārāṇasyādhis-thānādhikaraṇa' seal from Rājghāṭ⁶ depicts the goddess standing on a lotus. To her proper right hand is a radiate disc on an elaborate pedestal and to her left are indistinct objects and from her hands held downwards coins appear trickling down.

An important point that emerges from the study of these seals is that in the Gupta period, Lakṣmī is very closely associated with the cult of Kubera, the lord of riches and wealth. Lakṣmī's association with Kubera is already known from certain sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period in which the two deities are represented side by side. On the gateways at Sāñchī, Lakṣmī is also seen in association with the Yakṣas and the Yakṣinis where they are shown either bringing food and drinks or simply as *mithuna* figures. But in the Gupta age Lakṣmī's conception as the goddess of wealth seems to have topped over her other attributes so much so that the genii are always represented as pouring out coins from bags. Not only this, rather on certain seals coins are shown trickling down from the hand of the goddess herself. Not only on the seals, but also on certain coins of the throne-reverse class of the Archer type of Chandragupta II⁷ and the Archer type of Kumāragupta I,⁸ the goddess is represented as scattering round objects, presumably coins by her right hand. Lakṣmī's conception as the goddess of wealth is also emphasised by placing a conch-shell in her hand on one of the seals from Bhīṭā⁹ as conch is considered to be one of the *nidhis*. A conch is also shown below the right hand of the goddess on the Chakra-vikrama type of Chandragupta II¹⁰ and the conch figures also in the lower right corner of the Elephant-

1. *Ibid.*, pl. V, k.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pls. XVIII-XIX.

4. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

5. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 197.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

7. Altekar, *GGC, BH*, pls. VIII.4, 5; IX.5.

8. *Ibid.*, pl. XX.13.

9. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pl. XIX. 42.

10. Altekar, *GGC, BH*, pl. XVIII.14.

rider type of Kumāragupta I. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*² speaks of Lakṣmī as the presiding deity of the eight treasures recounted as *padma*, *mahāpadma*, *makara*, *kachchhapa*, *mukunda*, *nīla*, *ānanda* and *śaikhā*. Lakṣmī, particularly as the goddess of wealth and trade, the most important means of acquiring wealth, is remarkably depicted on a unique seal of the Gupta period from Basārḥ.³ The seal depicts a barge with roll-like decks and oars along with perpendicular standards. In the central part rises somewhat a square platform on which stands the goddess, nimbate, with her left hand on the hip, and the right one raised. She is wearing highly diaphanous draperies which are the characteristics of the Gupta period. To her proper left is conch and farther left probably a winged lion or humped bull standing. Her association with a barge clearly indicates the connection of the goddess of wealth with the trade.⁴ Lion, as will be presently seen, is also regarded as the vehicle of the goddess.

An important feature of Vaiṣṇavism in the Gupta period is the conception of Lakṣmī as the consort of Viṣṇu. The Gupta inscriptions are the first epigraphic records which mention Śrī-Lakṣmī's union with Viṣṇu. The Junāgarh inscription of the time of Skandagupta⁵ refers to Viṣṇu as one who is the permanent abode of Lakṣmī, the goddess who dwells in lotus. The Gwalior stone inscription of Mihirakula⁶ speaks of Viṣṇu as one who bears the goddess Śrī on his breast. Another inscription of the last quarter of the 5th or the first quarter of the 6th century A.D.⁷ describes Nārāyaṇa as the god 'whose breast is embraced by one who has her dwelling in a lotus' i.e. Lakṣmī. A Kadamba record of 500 A.D.⁸ begins with an adoration of 'the Bhagavat who has Śrī on his breast' and a little later the Sarnath inscription of Prakāṭaditya⁹ and the Aphṣaḍ inscription of Ādityasena¹⁰ speak of Śrī as the wife of Vāsudeva. Perhaps the growing importance of the Viṣṇu cult was responsible to some extent for the coupling of the popular goddess Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu. This may explain the reason why Lakṣmī has been given Vaiṣṇava emblems in her representations on certain Gupta coins and seals. As already seen, conch, which is definitely an attribute of Viṣṇu, figures in association with Lakṣmī on some coins of Chandragupta II¹¹ and Kumāragupta I¹² and also on the seals from Bhiṭā¹³ and Basārḥ.¹⁴

1. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI.1-3.

2. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 68.4.

3. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 129-30, pl. XLVI.93.

4. 'Vyāpāre-vasate-Lakṣmī'.

5. *Fleet*, *CII*, iii, no. 14, 1.1.

6. *Ibid.*, no. 37, 1.8.

7. *EI*, XXVIII, no. 31.

8. *Classical Age*, p. 419.

9. *Fleet*, *CII*, iii, no. 79, 1.4.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 42, 11. 11-12.

11. Altekar, *GCC*, *BH*, pl. XVIII.14.

12. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI.1-3.

13. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pl. XIX.42.

14. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 129-30, pl. XLVI.93.

Even a seal from Bhīṭā¹ represents the goddess holding not only this emblem of Viṣṇu in her right hand, but also carrying his vehicle, the Garuḍa, in the left. It is probably on this bird that she is placing her hand in another seal.² The Gupta seals and coins thus illustrate the ideological union of Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu.

On the coins of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, on those of the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I and on the King-and-Queen type of Kumāragupta I, Lakṣmī is found seated on the back of a lion. The Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type³ represents her seated on the lion couchant with a noose and a cornucopiae in her hands, that is, with the objects she appears on the Standard type of Samudragupta and so also on certain other types. On the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II,⁴ she has been variously seated on the lion, which on certain coins of the type can be seen walking to the right.⁵ On these coins, the goddess is sometimes found holding a noose and a cornucopiae in her hands, sometimes a noose and a lotus, and sometimes simply a lotus in one of her hands, the other being empty and placed on the waist or hanging down. On the Lion-slayer type of Kumāragupta I⁶ as well she is seated on a lion couchant and shown carrying either a noose and a lotus, or a garland and a lotus, or simply a lotus in the right hand, the left hand being empty and resting on the waist or shown scattering coins by the right and holding lotus in the left hands. She figures also on the King-and-Queen type of Kumāragupta I⁷ as seated on lion couchant with a lotus in her right hand and leaning on the left hand resting on the thigh. Traditionally the lion is the vehicle of Durgā and according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*⁸ the shrine of Durgā is to be marked with the lion-emblem. Generally Durgā and Lakṣmī are mentioned in contrast to each other. The *Manusmṛiti*⁹ apparently emphasises the distinction when it advises that a householder should make an offering to Śrī near head and to Bhadrakālī (evidently the same as Durgā) near the feet of her bed. The Gupta gold coins, however, suggest the close affinity of the two goddesses. The identity of Lakṣmī and her affinity with Durgā is further confirmed by the evidence of an image at Khajurāho¹⁰ in which Lakṣmī is provided with a lion mount. Gaja-Lakṣmī having a lion as her vehicle is shown seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose in the conventional manner with the two elephants anointing her with the jars held upturned in their trunks raised high. The goddess is four-armed, two of which hold lotus stalks and a couchant

1. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pl. XIX.42.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.32.

3. Altekar, *GGC*, *BH*, pl. I, 1-10.

4. *Ibid.*, pls. XVI. 8-XVIII. 9.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 204, no. 1184.

6. *Ibid.*, pls. XXVIII and XXIX.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI.14.

8. *Viṣṇudh.*, III, 94.38.

9. *MSm.*, III. 89.

10. *AI*, no. 15, p. 61; *PIHC* for 1960, pt. i, p. 83.

lion is depicted below her seat. It may, however, be noted that Hemādri¹ has noticed a type of Lakṣmī image which is *Simhavāhinī*. Save the lion mount, the Khajurāho image does not record any other iconographic difference from usual Gaja-Lakṣmī figures.

The popularity of the Gaja-Lakṣmī type is attested from stone sculptures as well belonging to the Gupta and the mediaeval periods found diffused in different corners of the northern half of the country. A stone sculpture from Eran,² in the district of Sagar (M.P.) belonging to the early Gupta period, shows the goddess as being anointed by a pair of elephants. A balustrade pillar from Kauśāmbi³ also depicts Gaja-Lakṣmī standing gracefully over the pericarp of a lotus flower issuing from a vase below along with creepers, buds and blooming flowers. The goddess is holding the stalks of the lotus flowers upon which stand the miniature elephants giving a bath to her.

A heavy lintel of Chunar sandstone from a mediaeval shrine now in the Sarnath Museum⁴ has three projecting niches showing the figure of a four-armed Gaja-Lakṣmī seated on a cushion in the central niche, side niches being occupied by the figures of Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī, besides the figures of the Navagrahas. The lower left hand of the goddess has a water-pot, while the corresponding right hand displays the gift-bestowing attitude. The upper two hands hold lotuses on which two elephants stand, pouring water on her head.

The goddess in her Gaja-Lakṣmī aspect usually occurs at the centre of the lintel over the shrine doorways in Orissa, sitting on a lotus, cross-legged or in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, and being given a bath by two miniature elephants standing on lotuses with upturned jars held in their trunks, as in the Mukteśvara,⁵ the Brahmeśvara⁶ and the Paraśurāmeśvara⁷ temples of Bhubaneśwara, Narasiṃha temple at Cuttack,⁸ temple of Maṇi-Nāgeśvara near Bhīmapur,⁹ and on the doorways of all the ancient temples at Khitching¹⁰ and adjacent places in Mayurabhaṅja¹¹ and also in one of the ancient caves at Cuttack.¹²

At Khajurāho also figures of Lakṣmī in the centre of the lintel over the entrance to the sanctum are found. Such a figure of Lakṣmī is found over the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 83; Agrawal, U., *Khajuraho Sculptures*, p. 58.

2. *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 62, pl. LXXI.A.

3. *Ibid.*, 1956-57, p. 29, pl. XXXVIII.

4. Majumdar, B., *A Guide to Sarnath*, p. 44 (no. G.38).

5. Rambach, P., etc. *The Golden Age of Indian Art*, pls. 68-69.

6. Mitra, D., *Bhubaneswar*, p. 48.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

8. *ASIAR*, 1904-05, pp. 121-23.

9. Vasu, N.N., *op. cit.*, I, fig. 29.

10. *Ibid.*, I, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 71, pl. 1.

entrance to the sanctum of the Lakṣmaṇa temple.¹ In the Lakṣmaṇa temple² again a standing image of Lakṣmī with four hands, one flourishing a lotus and the other in the *pralamba* pose, other two being unintelligible, accompanied by two attendants holding the ends of a garland and having lotus leaves hanging over her head as canopies suggestive of *padmālaya*, has near her feet the broken effigy, probably of an owl—more often associated with the goddess in her present-day representations. Another figure of Lakṣmī on the sanctum gate of the Vāmana temple shows the goddess with her first hand in the *varada mudrā* and holding a lotus, a discus and a pot of nectar in the remaining hands. In the Lakṣmaṇa temple, the goddess has been represented as seated with two lotuses in her upper hands over which stand miniature elephants pouring water over her head. One of her lower hands is in the *varada mudrā*, while the other hand carries a pot of nectar. Still another image of like description shows the goddess standing with her first hand in the *varada mudrā* having a rosary or a conch-shell in it. Some other images of the goddess having lotus flower in the upper hands are represented either with a *ghaṭa* or with a *bilva* fruit in one of the remaining hands. The two elephants anointing the goddess are, however, absent in these representations.³

One of the panels attached to the Brahmanical temple at Nalanda represents an exceedingly charming figure of the goddess in her Gaja-Lakṣmī aspect. Seated cross-legged on a fully expanded lotus, she is holding a lotus stalk by her left hand to which full bloomed and half bloomed lotus flowers are attached. A similar lotus stalk with flowers and leaves attached to it emerges from near the right thigh of the goddess who is holding a conch-shell in her right hand. Two miniature elephants standing on the lotus flowers are emptying the water from the jars held in their upraised trunks evidently to anoint the goddess. The goddess is putting on circular ear ornaments, necklace, armlets and bangles, besides an attractive flower-shaped head ornament tucked into the hair nicely brushed up and tied in the *dhāmila* fashion (Fig. 28).

In Rajasthan, the relief hailing from Abanerī, now in the Amer Museum,⁴ depicts the goddess holding lotus flowers in both her hands. The left hand bears the citron fruit which touches the lotus flower. Just above the lotus flowers are to be seen two elephants anointing the goddess with very prominent breasts and wearing usual ornaments. She is accompanied by Gaṇeśa and Kubera on her either side, all the three sitting in *lalitāsana*. Riddhi, the consort of Kubera, is shown holding a wine-jar to pour wine in the *caṣaka* held by the god of wealth in his right hand. Similar sculptures have also been found from Mathurā.⁵

1. Dhamma, B.L., *Khajuraho*, p. 16.

2. Gangoly, O.C., *The Art of the Chandelas*, p. 36, pl. 43.

3. Agrawal, U., *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, pp. 58-59.

4. *Lalit Kalā*, nos. 1-2, pp. 132-33, pl. LIV, fig. 5.

5. Sharma, B.N., *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology*, Sagar University, No. 2, pp. 73-75, pl. VI.

An 11th century bronze figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī discovered in Bogra and now in the Rajshahi Museum,¹ is a very good specimen of the four-handed variety of this goddess. Standing gracefully in the *trbhāṅga* pose, she is holding in three of her hands, *mātulaṅga*, *aikuṣa* and *jhāmpi* (a peculiar kind of basket generally placed in the hands of clay images of Lakṣmī annually worshipped during autumn in Bengal), while the fourth is broken. She is attended upon by two *chaurī*-bearing females standing in the same pose. A beautiful lotus aureole decorates the head of the goddess who is being bathed by two elephants with upturned pitchers. The modelling of the whole piece is very artistic. The Rajshahi Museum also possesses a very beautiful bronze figure of two-handed Lakṣmī² without the aureole and the elephants.

But the four-armed goddess in the collection of the Bangiya Sāhitya,³ being bathed by two elephants, is seated on a lotus and holds a rosary and an arrow in her right hands and a lotus with long stalk and a book in the left ones. Some of the attributes are to be found in the description given in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.⁴ Book being an attribute of Prajñāpāramitā, it may be suggested that in this image of Lakṣmī an attempt has been made to identify her with the Buddhist goddess.

As already mentioned, Lakṣmī is considered to be the wife of Viṣṇu. Her association with Viṣṇu has already been noticed in the seals and coins of the Gupta period where she is depicted not only with certain of the attributes of Viṣṇu like his *śaṅkha*, but also his vehicle, the Garuḍa. There are also actual sculptural representations in which Lakṣmī is shown accompanying her husband. In the well-known representation of the Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu at Deograh,⁵ depicting Viṣṇu reposing on the coils of the seven-hooded cosmic serpent, the goddess is shown sitting at his feet and shampooing his right leg. She figures also in a panel projecting in the centre above the doorway of the Deogarh⁶ temple as pressing the right suspended foot of Viṣṇu who sits on the tiered coils of the serpent Ananta. Save that she is attending upon the lord, she has not been given any distinctive iconographic feature.

In the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images, the goddess usually sits on the left thigh of Viṣṇu. Her right hand is placed round his neck and by her left hand she holds a lotus by its long stalk. Her right leg is folded over the thigh of Viṣṇu and the left one is pendent. The kneeling Garuḍa is depicted below supporting the lotus seat on which the pair sits. Such a representation from Basta in the Dacca district has been illustrated by Bhattasali.⁷ The Indian Museum has a small brass image of Lakṣmī-

1. HBR, I, p. 439.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

3. Banerji, R.D., *EISMS*, p. 121.

4. *Br. Saṁ.*, ch. 57, vv. 38-39.

5. *MAI*-70, p. 14, pl. X, b.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 12, pl. IX, a.

7. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 88, pl. XXXIV.

Nārāyaṇa from Mathurā¹ that bears a dated Nāgarī inscription on its back (sam. 1538 i.e. 1481 A.D.). She figures also in this combination at Khajurāho on the Lakṣmaṇa temple² and the Parśvanātha temple.³

Śrī-Lakṣmī is found more than often accompanying Viṣṇu along with Sarasvatī particularly when Viṣṇu is represented standing. In such sculptures, mostly of the mediaeval period, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, both two-armed, stand on either side of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī having her left hand placed on the waist and the right raised and holding a lotus flower by its stalk. Such figures of Lakṣmī accompanying Viṣṇu are found all over the northern part of the country. The sculptors during the Pāla period prepared numerous images of this type.⁴

Thus a detailed survey of the iconography of Śrī-Lakṣmī shows that the cult of Śrī-Lakṣmī was closely associated with that of Mother Goddess represented by nude terracotta female figurines and stone rings from the Indus Valley cities and by small rings, with or without central holes, decorated with the figures of a nude goddess from Banāras, Taxila, Rājghāt etc. often associated with *makara* and other animals and birds. In the *Ṛg-veda*, Śrī is an abstraction connoting the idea of beauty, welfare and pleasing appearance. Gradually it acquired the meaning of plentitude, abundance and wealth. In the later Vedic period, the conception of Śrī as beauty persists, but its dominant meaning becomes splendid position in the world. In the story of Śrī and Prajāpati, we see the transference of the abstract idea of beauty to the visual form of a heavenly body, probably the Great Mother Goddess. In the *Śrī-sūkta* the full iconographic conception of Śrī-Lakṣmī emerges. She is associated with lotus and also with elephants anointing her—usually described in the iconographic texts and commonly met with in the sculptures. Śrī-Lakṣmī does not appear as the wife of Viṣṇu in the Vedic literature; but her function as the goddess of abundance may be seen in the conception of Aditi, who is mentioned in some places as the wife of Viṣṇu, rich in milk. In the epic and the Paurāṇic literature, besides being connected with Viṣṇu, she is said to be the mother of Kāmadeva and is also associated with Kubera. Besides, her association with lotus is also emphasised in her various epithets like Kamalā, Padmā etc. She is, however, treated with scant respect in the Buddhist literature and her fickleness is emphasised. In the Jaina literature, however, she maintains her auspicious character in the dreams of Trīśālā. In early Hindu iconography, Śrī-Lakṣmī is represented either holding a lotus in right hand, standing on an expanded lotus serving as *pīṭha* or as *padma-vāsini* type standing among the growing lotus plants. In the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* type, she is attended by elephants pouring water over her head. In some Śuṅga terracottas, she has been provided with wings. At times, in sculptures, the goddess is accompanied by atten-

1. *ASTAR*, 1924-25, pp. 129-30.

2. Zannas, E., *Khajuraho*, p. 176, pl. XCIII.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 189, pls. CLXIX and CLXXI.

4. Patna Museum Arch. nos. 10609, 10610 and 6361.

dants carrying food and drink. In the Gupta period, Śrī-Lakṣmī as the goddess of luck and victory, becomes a common motif and she appears in various forms on the coins and the seals of the period. In the Gupta seals, she is also accompanied by Yakṣas pouring out coins from bags which confirms her character as the goddess of wealth. As her representation on one of the seals from Basārḥ shows, she is also the patron goddess of the sea-faring merchants. She has also been represented as bearing the Vaiṣṇava symbols in her hands, suggesting her association with Viṣṇu as his wife. Sometimes, as on the Gupta coins and in the Khajurāho image, she appears as Simhāvāhinī. The Śrī-Lakṣmī and the Gaja-Lakṣmī types of the goddess continue to be very popular in the mediaeval period as well and her numerous sculptural representations are found all over the northern part of the country. She is also found in the sculptures in the company of Viṣṇu, evidently in the role of his wife. In the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images, she is found seated on the thighs of her lord.

Gaja-Lakṣmī and Śrī-Lakṣmī types occur also in the south Indian representations. Rao has illustrated the former from Mahābalipuram¹ and Ellorā,² in which the goddess is anointed by the elephants. It is, however, interesting to note that at Ellorā the goddess is attended upon by the figures of the Nāgas (in their hybrid forms) with jars held in their hands and accompanied by their wives (Fig. 29). Gaja-Lakṣmī occurs with usual attributes and jewelleries at Pītalkhorā³ also. Bronze images in large numbers, mostly belonging to the 17th-18th century A.D., depict her as Śrī-Lakṣmī.⁴ In certain of her representations, she is also shown holding Vaiṣṇava emblems, the *śaṅkha* and the *chakra*. An admirable example is the one known from Siyamaṅgalam in the N. Arcot district.⁵ She is also represented as accompanying her husband Viṣṇu, either standing beside him⁶ or in his embrace in the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images.⁷ An analysis of the south Indian sculptural representations of the goddess would suggest that there is practically no material difference between her south and north Indian representations, though there are stylistic differences. The south Indian representations, however, do not display as many varieties as are seen on the coins and the seals of the Gupta period.

1. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, pl. CIX.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. CX.

3. *AI*, no. 15, 1959, p. 80, pl. LV.A.

4. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Cat. of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 111, nos. 15, 83, 113, 21. 1299.

5. *ASIR*, 1935-36, p. 70, pl. XXX, a.

6. From the Dharmanatha temple :—

Cousens, H., *The Dhamnar Caves and Monolithic Temple of Dharmanatha*, pp. 11-12.

7. From Halebid :—

Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 29, p. 121.

MAHISAMARDINĪ

ONE of the most popular goddesses of the Hindus, Durgā Mahiṣamardinī is worshipped annually in the autumn, in the second half of the month of Āśvina, particularly in the north-eastern provinces of the country. Her clay idols, representing her as vanquishing the Buffalo-demon, are installed on the seventh day of the bright half of the month and immersed in ponds or rivers amidst blows of conch-shells on the tenth day. Images of the goddess Durgā, presenting her in both the terrific and the benign aspects, are met with all over the country. The evolution of the Durgā images was mainly due to the wide prevalence of Śāktism, 'that is the worship of Śakti or Śiva's spouse under various names, of which Devī, Durgā, and Kālī are best known'.¹ Durgā became the supreme object of adoration in the Śakti cult and had a number of names given to her in subsequent literatures. Although Bengal, Bihar and Assam were the chief centres of her cult, yet its influence was felt throughout the length and the breadth of the country, which resulted in the preparation of numerous icons of the goddess. The goddess Durgā, destined to attain a significant position in due course, does not find mention in the *Ṛg-veda*.² It is, however, in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*³ that Ambikā is described as the sister of Rudra, and, later on came to be regarded as the Great Mother. Umā and Pārvaṭī (more definitely Haimayaṭī) occur as names of Śiva's consort in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*⁴ and the *Kena Upaniṣad*.⁵ In the *Bhīṣmaparvan* hymn of Arjuna and the *Virāṭaparvan* hymn of Yudhiṣṭhira new names are coined for Umā. She is now Durgā (regarded as the wife of Nārāyaṇa in the *Virāṭaparvan* and of Śiva in the *Bhīṣmaparvan*)⁶ who grants victory and Mahiṣamardinī, who killed the buffalo-demon (Mahiṣāsuraṇāsinī). In the *Harivaṃśa*, she is assigned a permanent place in the Vindhyas (whence her title Vindhyaṁvāsini). She is also given the later familiar epithets of Kumārī, Kālī,

1. Eliot, C., *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 274.

2. Das, A.C., *Ṛg-vedic Culture*, p. 474 : "The goddess Vāc represented the Active Principle, or the Creative Force of the Supreme Being, and was the origin of the later Vedic Umā or the Paurāṇic Durgā, the Primordial Śakti (Ādyā Śakti)", maintains A.C. Das.

3. *Vāj. Sam.*, III.53.

4. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X.18 (cf. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.6, 10.4-5).

5. *Kena Upaniṣad*, 25.

6. Cf. the two *Durgā Stutis* in the *Mbh.*, IV.6 and VI.23; *Aryastva* in *Harivaṃśa*, III.3.

Kāpālī, Mahākālī, Chaṇḍī, Kātyāyanī, Karālā, Vijayā, Kauśikī and Kaṇṭaravāsini. As compared with Viṣṇu, Durgā (more particularly her Mahiṣamardini aspect) continued to be a minor deity; but her exploits, which raised her to a supreme position, are recorded forcefully in the famous *Devī-Mahātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,¹ a work of the 5th-6th century A.D., and her names glorified in other Purāṇas. Battles between Durgā and the demons, including Mahiṣāsura, have also been described in the *Mahiṣamardini Stotra* of the *Tantrasāra*² and the Sanskrit poems of Mayūra.³

According to the text of the *Devī-Mahātmya*, the gods having been defeated and expelled from the spheres of their power by the demons headed by the gigantic Mahiṣāsura (the powerful demon of invincible strength who assumed the shape of a great buffalo), invoked the aid of the high gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva, against the tyranny of the leader of the demons. The Great Two, on being acquainted with the miserable plight of the gods, became so filled with rage, that fiery flames shot forth from their mouths. Fiery flames also issued from the bodies of all the other gods. The energies so shot forth combined and united to form a mountain of effulgence, lighting up all the quarters, which eventually concentrated into a female form possessed of stern beauty. Śiva gave her a trident, Kṛṣṇa a discus, Varuṇa a conch-shell and a noose, Agni a spear, Maruta a bow and a quiver filled with arrows, Indra a thunderbolt and a bell from his elephant Airāvata, Yama a rod, Prajāpati a necklace of beads, Brahmā an earthen-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*), Kālā a sword and a spotless shield, the Ocean of Milk a spotless necklace of pearls and also a pair of undecaying garments, Viśvakarmā a highly polished axe, weapon of many shapes and armour that could not be pierced, Haimavat a lion to ride on, Kubera a drinking cup full of wine, and Śeṣa gave her a serpent necklace adorned with large gems. Fully equipped with the weapons the various gods gave her, she gave an exceedingly frightful scream, again and again, engaged the enemies of the gods and their leader in a terrific battle, vanquished the demons, overpowered the Asura Mahiṣa by kicking him on his neck with her foot, pierced his body with the trident (*śūla*), when the upper part of it issued forth from his buffalo mouth, slew the giant and gave redress to the gods.

The story of the Durgā-Mahiṣāsura combat is found also in various *Purāṇas* like the *Varāha*⁴ and the *Vāmana*,⁵ differing, however, in certain details; but the gist of all the different versions is that a battle ensued between the goddess Durgā and the Buffalo-demon, in which the latter was defeated and slain by the goddess.

1. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 82.

2. Avalon, A., *Hymns to the Goddess*, pp. 91-93.

3. Sanskrit Poems by Mayūra (14th-15th century A.D.), translated by Quackenbos, N.Y., 1917.

4. Rao, EHI, I, ii, pp. 348 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 350 ff.

Once goddess Durgā was installed as a Supreme Deity after her various exploits against the demons including Mahiṣāsura, she gradually outgrew the terrific character through her feminine nature, and Mahiṣamardini form, being the commonest type of her terrific aspect, is more frequently represented in Indian art. Numerous texts, differing only in minute details, furnish the iconographic data of the Mahiṣamardini images. Durgā Mahiṣamardini, conceived as killing the Buffalo-demon, variously armed, should plunge her trident (*śūla*) into the neck of the demon. She should have three eyes, high breasts, a thin waist, and three bends in her body, with her hair arranged in *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The decapitated trunk of the buffalo, with blood gushing from its neck, should lie at her feet and the real Asura, two-armed, carrying sword and shield, terrific in appearance and having knitted eye-brows, should be visible half emerged from within the neck. The right leg of the Devi should be planted on her lion, while her left leg should touch the back of the buffalo, the lion mauling the Buffalo-demon. The various texts differ mainly with regard to the number of arms the goddess should have and the different kinds of weapons she should be wielding by them. While the texts like the *Abhilaṣit-ārthachintāmaṇi*,¹ the *Matsya Purāṇa*,² the *Śilparatna*³ and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*⁴ assign her only ten arms, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*,⁵ the *Varāha Purāṇa*,⁶ the *Chañḍi Kalpa*⁷ and the *Viśvakarmā-śilpaśāstra*⁸ give her as many as twenty arms. The *Agni Purāṇa*⁹ and the *Rūpavatāra*¹⁰ describe both the ten and the twenty-armed varieties of the goddess. The *Vāmana Purāṇa*,¹¹ however, endows her with only eighteen arms. She is called thousand-armed in the *Devī-Mahātmya*.¹² Bāṇa's *Chañḍīśataka*¹³ (7th century A.D.) refers to her *Bhujavanam* (forest of arms).

Sculptural representations of Mahiṣamardini Durgā, according to Banerjea,¹⁴ 'can hardly be dated before the Gupta period and some miniature stone figures unearthed at Bhīṭā¹⁵ are a few of the earliest summary representations of this aspect of the goddess'. But in view of the discovery of quite a number of images of

1. *Abhilaṣit.*, 3/1/803.
2. *Matsya P.*, ch. 260. 55.
3. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, pp. 345-46.
4. *Rūpamaṇḍana*, ch. 17.
5. Rao, *op. cit.*, I, ii, p. 346.
6. *Varāha P.*, ch. 95. 41.
7. *Chañḍi Kalpa* (*Sritattva-nidhi*, p. 3).
8. *Viśvakarmā* (in *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi* of Hemādri, 2/79).
9. *Agni P.*, ch. 50. 1 and 52. 16.
10. *Rūpavatāra*, chaps. 50 (10-armed) and 49 (20-armed):
11. *Vāmana P.*, 19.6.
12. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 82.
13. *Chañḍīśataka*, stanzas 39, 64.
14. Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 442.
15. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pt. ii, p. 86, pl. XXXI, nos. 13 and 14. In both these pieces the goddess is two-armed as also in some of the terracottas from Ahichchhatra.

Mahiṣāsūramardīnī of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathurā,¹ Besnagar,² and also from Orissa,³ it becomes hard to agree with him. Even more noteworthy is the acquisition of an early terracotta plaque of this category from Nagar or Karkotanagar, now preserved in the Museum at Amer (Jaipur).⁴ It has been dated to 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. Its importance lies in the fact that it testifies to the popularity of the cult of Mahiṣāmardīnī at such an early period. The Nagar plaque, made of white clay besmeared with mica, originally broken into three pieces but now joined together, depicts the goddess four-armed, her lower right hand being placed on the back of the buffalo. The upper right hand holds a trident. The tail of the animal is erect, while its front legs are raised. Its mouth is just below the lower left hand of the goddess. There is a *tilaka* on her forehead. The execution of the plaque is very successful though it is a poor-man's creation and not an example of aristocratic art. The majestic look of the goddess is superior to that seen on the later terracottas of the same goddess. It would appear that the Gupta artists of Bhīṭā⁵ and Ahichchhatrā⁶ tried to copy the details of Mahiṣa (buffalo) from such traditional representations as found on the Nagar plaque. The depiction of the lion as the vehicle of the goddess, in this early plaque from Nagar, is a feature of high interest. The Nagar plaque may thus reasonably be regarded as the earliest summary representation of this aspect of the goddess. R.P. Chanda also mentions of an image of Virajā, a form of Mahiṣāmardīnī, of about 2nd-3rd century A.D.⁷ in which the goddess is shown two-armed, dealing with the Buffalo-demon, exactly in a manner noticed in the Bhumra⁸ example of the Gupta period. Here also she is found accompanied by her lion mount. She is described as two-armed, engaged in killing the Buffalo-demon and riding her vehicle, the lion, with her left hand pulling the tail of the buffalo and with her right hand plunging a spear into its body, her right foot pressing the head of the buffalo.

A number of figures of the goddess of the Kuṣāṇa period in the Mathurā art, mostly housed in the local Archaeological Museum, show her two, four, or six-armed. The goddess stands against a buffalo with its head lifted up.⁹ A six-armed

1. *JUPHS*, XXII, 1949, pp. 152-59; *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 154-55.

2. Dvivedi, H.N., *Gwalior Rajya men Murti-kala*, p. 36, fig. 47.

3. *MAI*, 44, p. 4.

4. *Lalit-Kalā*, 1-2, 1955-56, pp. 72-74, pl. XVIII, fig. 1. It may be noted that recent excavations at Champa in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar have brought to light a sufficient number of terracotta plaques from the Śuṅga level, depicting a goddess with various kinds of weapons (*āyudhas*) arranged around her head. The Āyudha Devī, as she may be called, may represent the conception of a goddess (*Śakti*) powerful enough to wield varieties of weapons (*āyudhas*). None of the plaques have been found fully preserved.

5. *ASTAR*, 1911-12, pl. XXXI, fig. 14.

6. Seshadri, M., Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, Images, Iconography and Interpretation, The Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University, Section A—Arts, XXII, 2, pl. II, fig. b.

7. *MAI*, 44, p. 4.

8. *MAI*, 16, pl. XIV, fig. c.

9. Agrawala, *Cat. of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. XI.

figure of the goddess¹ is shown holding the crown with two of the hands, the animal with the other two and a spear and a trident in the remaining hands. In another figure of the late Kuṣāṇa period² also, the six-armed goddess is seen subduing the demon. In all these representations, Mahiṣāsura is always depicted in the form of a buffalo as being trampled by the goddess; but in none of them the throat of the demon is shown severed or his human form is shown coming out of the throat. This latter feature which the *Devī-Mahātmya*³ refers to as *Ardhaniṣkrānta* begins to appear only in the Gupta period from about the 4th century A.D. onward.

One of the remarkably early reliefs, belonging to the Gupta period, unearthed by Marshall at Bhīṭā,⁴ depicts the goddess subduing the Buffalo-demon, unaccompanied by her vehicle or any accessory figure. Carved out of the local sandstone, the two-armed goddess with her left hand placed on waist, has a trident in her right hand which she is piercing into the neck of the demon in animal shape. She is also seen pressing the head of the demon under her right foot. A fragmentary relief from Sarnath⁵ also represents the goddess piercing the demon with her trident held in her right hand, while she is trying to lift the buffalo by catching its tail. Here also she is two-armed and without her usual mount. The image of the goddess carved in a niche of the Śiva temple at Bhumra (M.P.)⁶ shows the goddess dealing with the buffalo-demon practically in a similar manner. Standing in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, the goddess is seen pressing the demon's head (in animal form) with her right leg, piercing the back with her trident in right hand and lifting the hind part of the demon by its tail with her left hand. She is, however, four-armed, holding an unsheathed sword in her back right hand and a shield in the back left hand. A dwarf attendant is accompanying her on her right. In all these early representations, the goddess is two, four or six-armed; it did not require much time for her, as suggested by Banerjea,⁷ to multiply the number of her arms. It is rather curious that in a far earlier relief carved on the facade of the Chandragupta (II) cave at Udayagiri⁸ (Bhilsa, M.P.), the goddess should have been endowed with as many as twelve arms, with all the respective characteristics, holding many attributes and weapons in her hands, the two back right and left hands stretching probably an iguana (*godha*). Though badly mutilated, the relief still shows much animation and, when intact, it must have belonged to some of the best specimens of the Gupta art. It seems that the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*⁹ tradition about this mode of attack by the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 570, no. 889 (cf. nos. 993, 2037 and 875).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 57, no. 2784.

3. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 83. 39.

4. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 86, pl. XXXI.14; Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 498.

5. *ASIAR*, 1907-08, p. 72, no. B-58; Sahnī, D.R., *Cat. of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 167, no. B(h) 12.

6. *MAI*-16, p. 13, pl. XIV.B.

7. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 498.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 498, pl. XLI.4; Patil, D.R., *The Monuments of the Udayagiri Hill*, p. 35.

9. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 83. 37.

Devī was well known to the artists of northern and central India during the Gupta and the early mediaeval periods.

That the number of the hands of Mahiṣamardīnī did not increase uniformly is amply evidenced by a beautiful brass image of the goddess named Lakṣaṇā,¹ as an inscription calls her. The image somewhat later in date belongs to the time of Meruvarmana, king of Chamba, datable in c. 8th century A.D. She is four-armed trampling upon the Buffalo-demon with her right leg in a manner identical to the Bhumra example, the only difference being that she is holding a bell instead of a shield in one of her back left hands. This standing attitude of the goddess, according to Banerjea,² corresponds exactly to the *Devī-Mahātmya* description of the goddess.

There is a very interesting stone sculpture of Mahiṣamardīnī from Dulmi (Manbhum district) in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.³ It represents the ten-armed goddess fighting vigorously with the demon who emerges out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo. Standing in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, the goddess is planting her right leg on the back of the lion mount and pressing the buffalo with her left leg. She has in her hands the trident (with which she is piercing the shoulder of the demon), *kheṭaka*, *ṭanka*, *śara*, *khaḍga* (in right hands) and *dhanuṣa*, *paraśu*, *aṅkuṣa*, *nāga-pāśa* (to bind the demon's arm with it) and *śūchi-mudrā*. The two-armed demon emerging out of the buffalo has still his leg within the trunk of the animal below which is lying the severed head. He is carrying sword and shield in his hands to fight with the goddess. The lion, the mount of the goddess, is represented near her right leg, ready to leap upon its prey. The *chaurī*-bearing miniature male figures can be seen on her either side. The sculpture which is in a better state of preservation shows the entire composition, as it were, ensrihned in a *rekḥā* deul with an *amalaka-śīla* and a *kalaśa* on the top. Another ten-armed splendid image of the goddess in black basalt discovered at Sakta, housed in the Dacca Museum,⁴ is much akin in composition to the above relief. It, however, differs in certain points. The goddess carries a pointed weapon (*śūchi*) discus, arrow, sword, javelin (plunging into the demon's breast), locks of the demon, buckler, bow, axe, *aṅkuṣa* (elephant goad). The main points of difference are that (i) the goddess has thrust a javelin instead of a trident into the demon's bosom, and (ii) she is subduing the demon by catching hold of his tufts of hair. It bears a short inscription on its pedestal describing the goddess as '*Śrī Māṣikā-Chaṇḍī*' in the characters of the 12th century

1. Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, p. 498; Vogel, J. Ph., *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, p. 138, pl. VII, b.

2. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

3. *ASIAR*, 1928-29, p. 131, pl. LIV, a; *HBR*, I, p. 453, pl. XIII. For some more images of Mahiṣamardīnī in bronze and stone and hailing from Eastern India, see Sharma, B.N., *Roopa-Lekha*, XLI, 1 & 2, pl. II; *East And West*, XIX, 3-4, fig. 11.

4. Bhattachali, N.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 197-98, pl. LVI.

A.D. In this connection it may be mentioned on the authority of the *Agni Purāṇa*¹ that the goddess seizes the hairs of the demon by one of her hands.

Other ten-armed images of Mahiṣamardīnī, recorded by Bhattasali, are (i) an image in sandstone of very bad quality from a tank in Darinda Rasulpur, Tippera district, in the Dacca Museum,² (ii) another in black-stone in the house of Rasika Chandra Ghatak at Baligaon, Dacca district,³ and (iii) still another in black-stone from a village in the Faridpur district (now in the Dacca Museum).⁴ There are, however, two noteworthy features in the image from the village in the Faridpur district : (i) the goddess is surrounded by flames rising out of her body and (ii) she has a band that holds tight the heaving breasts of the goddess—a feature found in the south Indian Lakṣmī images.

Ten-armed images of Mahiṣamardīnī have been found in Assam also, where she is the commonest variety of the Devī, worshipped under the popular iconic form and much similar in representation. A large figure in the Hatimara temple,⁵ Nowgong, presents the entire composition of the goddess as given in the text. It has been assigned to the 9th-10th century A.D. by K.L. Barua.⁶

Rajasthan has also bequeathed ten-armed figures of the goddess, one from the Nīlakanṭheśvara temple at Paranagar in Alwar⁷ being highly interesting. The ten-armed goddess, represented as killing the demon, is penetrating the trident into the headless trunk of the buffalo, from whose neck the human form is made to emerge with a sword in his hand. What renders the piece remarkable is that the headless trunk of the buffalo is made not to lie lifeless on the ground, rather, along with the human form of the demon, it is made spirited as if running forward in a bid to dash against the Devī. The whole composition is animated with life. The goddess is flanked by miniature female attendants on her either side. The figure is datable in the 10th-11th century A.D. Much similar to the above composition, particularly the identical manner in which the buffalo is shown, is an image from Abaneri, now in the Amer Museum (Jaipur).⁸ Originally fixed in a niche outside the main shrine, the rectangular panel represents the four-armed goddess in the act of killing the demon. She bears a sword, a trident (pierced into the demon) and a bell, and the remaining left hand is placed on the head of the demon who has just emerged in human form as a result of the decapitation of his animal head. Her right leg is

1. *Agni P.*, ch. 50.12.

2. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-96, pl. LXV, a.

5. Barua, B.K., *A Cultural History of Assam*, pp. 184-85.

6. *JARS*, II, p. 12.

7. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 175, a; Goswami, A., *Indian Temple Sculpture*, pl. 78.

8. *Lalit-Kalā*, 182, 1955-56, p. 1131, pl. LIII, fig. 3; *5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien*, p. 154, no. 195 and tafel.

placed on the back of the buffalo which is also being attacked by the lion vehicle of the goddess. The extreme elegance of the pose of the goddess is particularly noticeable. Similar sculptures have also been preserved in the Museum at Jhalawar. The depiction of the demon, both in human and animal form, as early as the 8th-9th century A.D., is very interesting from iconographic point of view. There is an early mediaeval statue of Mahiṣamardinī depicting the goddess vanquishing the demon in human form, preserved in the Mathurā Archaeological Museum.¹ The sculpture may be favourably compared with the one from Chanderi in Madhya Pradesh.²

Not only ten-armed, but eight-armed images of the goddess have also been found from different parts of the country. An interesting black stone image of Mahiṣamardinī belonging to the Stuart Bridge collection,³ represents the goddess eight-armed. Though certain parts of the relief are mutilated, yet, when intact, it must have been a masterpiece of the type. Her uppermost right hand which is held up has a sword badly mutilated; so also is her third forearm. With her second right hand she is taking over an arrow from quiver on her back, while a trident is being held in the lowest right hand, now lost, with which she is piercing the chest of the demon in human form issuing out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo. Her uppermost left hand, now badly damaged, is holding the locks of the demon's hair and forcibly pressing down his head. Her second left hand is broken off. In the remaining hands, she is holding a bell and a bow from which she is about to shoot arrow. The goddess stands with her right foot firmly fixed on the ground and her left foot resting on the back of the beheaded buffalo, i.e., the goddess is dismounted from her leonine mount, which, on the left, is rushing out from behind and has fallen upon the buffalo tooth and nail. The severed head of the buffalo is depicted below. Flying Vidyādhara-couples are shown on either side of the semicircular topped stela. A demon raising a sword with his right hand and a shield in the left is running away while looking back at his pursuer. A kneeling female figure is shown on the pedestal with a garland interpolated in the scroll work on the base, which harmonizes well with the floral design. There is movement alround. With her eyes directed downward, the goddess herself is calmly and compassionately watching the last struggle of the dying demon. The limbs of the goddess and other figures are well rounded; the modelling well finished. The eight

1. *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 159.

2. *Annual Report of the Arch. Deptt., Gwalior State*, 1932-33, pl. X, b.
N.B. For sculptures having a bearing on the Śakti cult in Rajasthan, vide papers of R.C. Agrawala :—

i. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, XIX, nos. 1-2, pp. 37-46.

ii. *Artibus Asiae*, Switzerland, XVII, nos. 3-4, pp. 232-34.

iii. *JBRs*, XII, no. 1, pp. 1-12.

3. Chanda, R.P., *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, pp. 60-61, pl. XVII.

arms of the goddess with the attributes are harmoniously correlated. The image is attributed to the 7th century A.D. and is classical, a late Gupta than a Pāla work.

Artistically not as superior as the above specimen, the Mahiṣamardinī image in black-stone from Mādhavapāsa¹ (Bakerganj district) is also eight-armed, much similar in composition, differing only in minor details. In her eight-arms, the goddess is carrying discus, trident (striking the demon's breast), arrow (being plucked from the quiver on the back), sword, *tarjanī-mudrā* (index finger raised), buckler, bow, and the hairs of the demon. The attributes agree with the *dhyānas* given in the *Prapañchasāraṇtra*,² except the last item for which the Tantra has the *śaṅkha* (conch-shell). Another strikingly similar image of the goddess hails from Baijnath³ (Kumaon district) in which she is holding a trident (penetrated into the demon's back), a *chakra*, an arrow and a *khaḍga* in the right hands and a shield, a bell and a bow in the left hands, the remaining left hand pressing the shoulder of the demon issuing out of the decapitated trunk, two-armed and carrying a sword in them. Another from Haripur in the Mayurabhañja⁴ district belonging to the 9th-10th century A.D. shows the eight-armed goddess in a more aggressive pose where the three prongs of the trident pierce the upturned neck of the human demon issuing out of the decapitated trunk of the animal, the lion also taking part in the fight. The Haripur sculpture portrays with success the dynamic vigour underlying the act and the demon was given a modified form by the sculptor.

There is yet another impressive eight-armed image of Mahiṣamardinī in the Ambikā Mātā Temple at Jagat in Rajasthan which is assigned to c. 10th century A.D. Executed between two pilasters, the goddess, who holds a thunderbolt, a sword, a shield and a bow and shows *tarjanī-mudrā*, is thrusting a trident held in her front right hand into the left thigh of the demon in the human form emerging out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo. The severed head of the buffalo is lying below. The goddess, having dismounted from her leonine mount, has planted her left foot firmly on the ground and placed her right foot on the back of the beheaded buffalo, while the lion rushing out from behind has fallen upon the back of the buffalo. The exquisitely carved sculpture speaks highly of the anonymous artist who created this wonderful sculpture (Fig. 30).⁵

In a relief from Vaitāl Deul, Bhubaneśwara, c. 1000 A.D., the goddess is shown in the act of slaying the Buffalo-demon who has the body of a man and the head of

1. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-97, pl. LXV, b.

2. *Prapañchasāraṇtra*, 30.8.

3. *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, p. 75, pl. LXXVI.B.

4. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 499, pl. XLII.2.

5. Several types of Mahiṣamardinī images have also been found on the Pratihāra temples at Osia, near Jodhpur. Sharma, B.N., *Roopa-Lekhā*, XL, 1 & 2, pp. 99-101, pls. VI and VIII. In a unique image of the goddess shown as an emaciated figure and carved on one of the small shrines of the Harihara temple No. I at Osia, she is depicted killing the demon Mahiṣā with a trident. Sharma, B.N., *East and West*, XIX, 3-4, fig. 14.

a buffalo,¹ and who is seen kneeling before the goddess at her feet trying to fight her with a sword in his hand. The moment of the climax of the goddess's triumph has again been selected. The figure of the warrior-like goddess is depicted as trampling her titan foe, and he is breaking, sinking before her. Having planted her left foot upon the back of the vehicle, the lion, and the right foot upon the demon's shoulder, she is firmly, yet calmly, pressing back his muzzle with one of her left arms, and, meanwhile with a long staff-like trident, stabbing down at him, blood gushing from its neck, with all her might, yet playfully, for the performance of the exploit does not tax her. The eight-armed goddess has in her right hands sword (*khaḍga*), trident, thunderbolt, javelin, and shield with a loop handle, bow, *nāga-pāśa* in the left hands and pressing the muzzle of the Buffalo-demon by her remaining left hand. So far the Buffalo-demon was found to be represented wholly either in the form of an animal or in the form of a human-being emerging out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo; but in the Vaitāl Deul example, the demon is depicted differently : he has a human body with the head of a buffalo having two horns.²

At Khajurāho, six, eight and twenty-armed representations of Mahiṣamardini have been noticed. She has been shown killing the demon-king Mahiṣāsura plunging a spear with all her might into the strong body of the Asura. The six-armed goddess has her first two hands broken, the third hand is uplifted with which she is holding a sword, while she has a shield (*kheṭaka*) and a bow in the next two hands, and with the sixth hand she is holding the leg of the buffalo whom she has upturned and whose head lies buried under its own body.³ The eight-armed goddess carries a *pāśa*, a sword, a bell and a shield in her four hands. With her other two hands, she is firmly grasping a spear which she is thrusting in the body of the buffalo. Her remaining hands are damaged.⁴ The goddess having twenty arms has eighteen arms broken, while with the remaining two uppermost hands she is carrying cymbals. From the decapitated head of the buffalo emerges the real Asura whose head is smashed.⁵ The twenty-armed goddess in the Chausatha Yoginī temple has a sword, a shield and hoops in three of her hands, while the remaining hands as well are damaged.⁶

The image from Sirpur (Raipur district, M.P.) of an earlier date (c. 7th century A.D.) is highly interesting on account of the goddess and the demon having been represented in an entirely different manner.⁷ Usually the goddess plants one

1. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 146; Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 96, pl. 326.
2. Cf. a similar Mahiṣamardini image from Andhra :—Kramrisch, S. *Indian Sculpture*, p. 198, pl. XLVIII.110; *5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien*, p. 178, no. 272 and tafel.
3. Agrawal, U., *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, pp. 62-63.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 63, fig. 43.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 63, fig. 44.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
7. *Ind. Arch.*, 1953-54, p. 12, pl. XIX, c.

of her legs on the back of the demon; but there she is found trampling upon her foe with both the legs. The defeated demon is turned upside down. Human-bodied and buffalo-headed, the demon is made to rest his shoulder and horned head on the ground, while the goddess is pressing his left hand under her right leg and his right thigh with her left leg to which she is also applying pressure with one of her left hands. In her remaining hands, the eight-armed goddess is holding an arrow (piercing into the chest of the demon), the leg of the demon, a spear (penetrated between the thighs of the demon), a *khadga* (somewhat mutilated), shield, bell and bow. The demon in an inverted position has not been found depicted in any other sculptural representation and it bespeaks highly of the originality of the ideas and the artistic fancy on the part of the sculptor.

An image, unique of its kind, retrieved from Porsha in the Dinajpur district (now in the Rajshahi Museum)¹ illustrates in an extremely interesting manner nine figures of Mahiṣamardinī (Nava-durgā)—one of them represented as the central piece, while other eight, miniature replicas of the former, are grouped round it, five of them in the top part of the stela, two on either side, and one on the middle face of the pedestal, all in the usual manner. While the central figure is eighteen-armed, the rest are endowed with sixteen arms only. The head and the trident-bearing right hand of the central figure are mutilated; the remaining right hands have elephant-goad, thunderbolt, chisel, stick, mace, discus, arrow and sword, while the left ones carry *tarjanī-mudrā*, locks of hair (of the demon), shield, bow, flag, kettle-drum, mirror, bell and *nāga-pāśa*. The whole composition corresponds fairly well to the description of the goddess Nava-durgā given in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.² The central figure is named Ugra-chaṇḍikā, the surrounding ones being Rudra-chaṇḍa, Prachaṇḍa, Chaṇḍogra, Chaṇḍanāyikā, Chaṇḍavatī, Chaṇḍa-rūpa and Ati-chaṇḍikā. The whole composition, in spite of the multiplicity of the hands and the vigorous action of the figures, shows a dignified balance.

Another stone image, equally interesting and unique, found at Betna,³ Dinajpur district, representing a thirty-two armed goddess, is of great iconographic importance. No such image or its corresponding text is known to us.⁴ It emphasises in however imperfect a manner the all powerful and all embracing character of the Devī. The thirty-two armed goddess, equipped with various weapons, with a miniature lion between her legs, is depicted engaged in combat with the demons (not with the Buffalo-demon in particular). It cannot be described as a new type of Mahiṣamardinī, because some of the hands are unfortunately broken. A female figure holding

1. *VRS Report*, 1936-38, pp. 24-26, fig. 2; *HBR*, I, p. 453, pl. XIII.35; Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 346; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 500; Saraswati, S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, pl. XXXII.146.

2. *HBR*, I, p. 453.

3. *VRS Report*, 1936-38, pp. 24-26, fig. 2; *JASB* (NS), XXVIII, pp. 194-95, pl. 9, fig. 2; *HBR*, I, p. 454; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 500.

an umbrella over its head is carved on the proper right, while the opposite side is occupied by the figures of four pot-bellied wide-eyed dwarfish demons. On the top part of the stela are carved the miniature figures of Gaṇapati, Sūrya, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā; on the pedestal are carved several miniature figures in different poses other than the donor couples. According to Banerjea,¹ the presence of the five miniature figures on the top of the back-slab (four representing the four Brahmanical cults of Gaṇapatya, Saura, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, the Śākta cult being indicated by the main image, and Brahmā standing for Vedism) reminds us in a characteristic manner the display of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the aura of many Vajrayāna images of the mediaeval period. Again, the way in which the miniature replicas of the central divinity are represented in the different sections of the Nava-durgā relief described above, distinctly reminds us of Arapachana-Maṇjuśrī.²

The popularity of the goddess killing the Buffalo-demon in distant corners of India is attested with the help of a cast from a mould found at Peshawar.³ Although the details are not distinct, yet the turreted crown of the goddess, the face and the upper part of her body, and the legs and the body of the animal are clear.

A detailed survey of the extant north Indian Maḥiṣamardīnī images would show that various modes were followed in the representations of the goddess. Earlier images provide the goddess with two, four, or six arms only, killing the demon, represented as an animal, by thrusting a trident into its back, pressing its head with the right leg and lifting its hind part by catching its tail. The leonine mount of the goddess is absent in majority of the cases, though shown in a very few of them. D.H. Bhattacharya⁴ remarks that judging from the various images, the earlier Maḥiṣamardīnī figures seem to have taken their inspiration from sources other than the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, because the leonine mount of the Devī is absent from some of the earliest images. Soon after, the number of her arms is multiplied and her leonine mount appears almost invariably. Two different varieties may be noted under this type. In one of the varieties, the goddess, usually eight or ten-armed, equipped with various weapons, is shown riding on her vehicle, the lion, and piercing the back of the buffalo with the three prongs of her trident, out of the decapitated trunk of which emerges the human form of the demon, two-armed with sword and shield in his hands, to fight with the goddess, who is also being mauled by her lion. The goddess plants her right leg on the back of the lion and presses the head of the demon with her left leg. The second variety depicts the goddess slaying the Buffalo-demon, dismounted from her vehicle, with her leg planted on the ground and pressing the back of the demon with her left leg. In this variety too, the human

1. HBR, I, p. 454.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

3. Banerjea, DHI, p. 500.

4. Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 338.

form of the demon issues out of the decapitation of the head of the buffalo-trunk. In a different type of the Mahiṣamardini images, the multi-armed goddess fights with the demon, who is neither in an animal form nor a human being coming out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo; but it is human-bodied and buffalo-headed, the two buffalo horns sticking out of its forehead. In the mediaeval images, the goddess could have eight or ten arms, even eighteen, twenty and thirty-two arms have been given to the goddess in Bengal.

Numerous interesting Mahiṣamardini images have been found in different parts of south India also,¹ some of them even excelling the north Indian examples. The Mahiṣamardini image from Badami,² four-armed, engaged in slaying the Buffalo-demon in animal form, by piercing the trident and lifting the hind part of the animal with its tail may favourably be compared with the early images of north India. She is also unaccompanied by her lion or any other accessory figure. The Mahiṣamardini images from Aihole,³ illustrated by Zimmer⁴ and Frederic,⁵ are also much similar with regard to her dealing with the demon (in animal form), save that the goddess, in these figures, is shown eight-armed with various weapons in her hands and accompanied by her lion mount. The lion, however, appears lifeless spectator of the goddess doing away with the demon's life. Much similar in composition is the Conjeevaram Mahiṣamardini image as well.⁶ Here also the lion is a silent spectator lifting its head above the back of the buffalo.

The image of Mahiṣamardini in the Madras Museum⁷ may be compared with the second variety of the second type of the north Indian images, but with slight differences. The goddess plants her left leg (instead of the right one) on the ground and presses the buffalo with her right leg. The human form of the demon issuing out of the decapitated trunk has his head pressed down by his tufts of hair being caught by the goddess. The goddess is variously armed. A parallelism may be noticed between the Mahiṣamardini image from Vaitāl Deul (Bhubaneśwara) and that from the Andhra state⁸ wherein the demon, stabbed to death by the goddess, is depicted in a like manner, human-bodied with a buffalo's horned head. Such also is the Mahiṣamardini image from Gaṅgaikōṇḍacholapuram,⁹ particularly with regard to the Buffalo-demon.

Although north-eastern provinces of the country were the main centres of Śaktism, yet its wave did not leave untouched even the far-flung states so much so

1. Seshadri, M., Some Unique Mahiṣamardini Images from Mysore State, *Professor K.A.N Sastri Felicitation Volume*, Madras, 1971, pp. 297-99.
2. Lippe, A., Early Chalukya Icons, *Artibus Asiae*, XXXIV, 4, pp. 273-330, figs. 35 and 36.
3. *MAI*-25, p. 4, pl. 2.B; Saraswati, S.K., *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII.102.
4. Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, pl. 117.
5. Frederic, L., *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, p. 147, pl. 143.
6. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, pl. CII.2.
7. *Ibid.*, pl. CII.1.
8. Kramrisch, S., *Indian Sculpture*, p. 198, pl. XLVIII.110; *5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien*, no. 272, tafel on p. 401.
9. Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. CIII.

that the south Indian artists did not only produce the images of the Devī much akin to the north Indian prototypes; but introduced new types as well in a more modified form, surpassing the sculptural representations of the goddess in the land of her religion. Whereas images from Bengal, particularly of the Pāla period, exhibit stereotyping, some of the representations from the south show ingenuity, pulsating with life and full of vigour. Sculptural representations of the goddess engaged in a combat with the Buffalo-demon in the Mahiṣāsura cave at Mahābalipuram (Madras) and in the Kailāsanātha cave temple at Ellorā are not mere stone-renderings of the Paurāṇic story. Scholars have lavished praises on the Mahābalipuram Mahiṣa-mardīnī image. 'It is not a worshipper's image', but in the words of Gangoly,¹ 'a story telling relief—visualising and depicting the great battle—with realistic movements and actions of considerable animation. Rarely has this legend been visualised in stone—with such power, skill, dramatic effect'. According to Munshi,² 'this is not a sculpture, much less one of stone. It is the moving picture of a living battle, every line, every shade, creating the illusion of stirring conflict'. Appreciating the figure, Smith³ says, 'the scene undoubtedly is full of life and movement, and the goddess is a dignified figure'. In the opinion of Coomaraswamy,⁴ 'it has a decided elegance'. One of the masterpieces, signifying the high-water mark of the Pallava art, carved in high relief on the wall of the Mahiṣāsura cave, it does not simply represent the killing of the demon by the goddess, rather it introduces two armies, one of the goddess and the other of the Buffalo-demon. Durgā surrounded by the host of the *gaṇas* rides with firm grace her vehicle, the ferocious lion rushing forward. She brandishes different weapons in her eight hands, using the bow with its string pulled up to the ear in her attack against the demon, with the light of victory in her eyes and self-confidence in her every gesture. The crafty, powerful demon, who is on the defensive, is fighting with determination. He has, however, grown feeble, supporting and weighing the mace with both his hands; he is waiting eagerly for the moment when he can strike down the goddess. He is helped in his actions by the army of the demons, who are fleeing away, falling or seeking to escape. The umbrellas held over the vanquished and the victor are very suggestive. The parasol over the head of the demon king would suggest that he has not yet been defeated; but he is moving away, while the goddess is showering arrows at him and his host. It leaves no doubt as to who would ultimately prevail. No such representations of the goddess are to be found in the north Indian images (Fig. 31).

Different moments of the goddess's victory have very ably been illustrated by the south Indian artists. The struggle of the goddess with the demon in its most

1. Gangoly, O.C., *The Art of the Pallavas*, pl. 19.

2. Munshi, K.M., *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, p. 23, pl. 84.

3. Smith, V.A., *HFAIC*, p. 133, pl. 87.

4. Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, pl. LXI.203. Illustrated also in :—

Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, pl. 234; Longhurst, A.H., *Pallava Architecture (MASI-33)*, pl.; Kram-risch, S., *The Art of India*, p. 206, pl. 86; Kabir, H., *Archaeology in India*, pl. LVI.A.

intense form is found in the same theme depicted in the Rāmeśvara cave at Ellorā.¹ Another remarkable south Indian representation in the Kailāśanātha cave temple at Ellorā² portrays the moment of clash; it is done by the artist of the Raṣtrakūṭa period (c. 800 A.D.). Having eight arms, brandishing weapons of all kinds, the Devī, riding her lion, is vigorously attacking Mahiṣāsura, a full-scale man of her stature with buffalo-horns. The mount with a magnificent bound makes for the adversary, while the attendants of the goddess, from beneath the lion, move forward in support of the attack. Various gods throng on the upper part of the panel, watching the struggle. Three arrows from the goddess's bow are reaching the demon simultaneously and the battle is approaching its climax. The cornered giant is not falling back; the scales of the balance are still in equilibrium. Though considerably mutilated, it is yet a masterpiece of the south Indian art. No parallel of such a kind of representation can be found amongst the north Indian sculptures (Fig. 32). In the Chola art, Mahiṣamardīnī has been represented as standing on the head of the defeated Buffalo-demon (Fig. 33).³

1. Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 92, pl. 234.

2. Sivaramamurti, C., *Royal Conquests & Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan*, pl. I, fig. b.

3. Lippe, A., *Divine Images in Stone and Bronze (South India, Chola Dynasty, c. 850-1280)*, *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, New York, IV, pp. 68 ff, figs. 43-45; Harle, J.C., *Durgā, Goddess of Victory, Artibus Asiae*, XXVI, 3-4, pp. 237 ff.

CHĀMUṆḌĀ

CHĀMUṆḌĀ, one of the fiercest aspects of the Devī, is so named on account of her having caused complete annihilation to two demon brothers, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, who were under the services of the demon king Śumbha and his brother Niśumbha. Having heard of the beauty of Ambikā, Śumbha sent her a messenger asking her to marry either himself or his brother Niśumbha. The goddess replied : 'He who vanquishes me in fight shall be my husband'.¹ This was enough to ignite the anger of the demon king who commanded Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, his two powerful allies, to fetch the goddess dead or alive.² Incensed at the sight of the two mighty *asuras*, Ambikā uttered her wrath aloud against these two foes as a result of which her countenance grew dark as ink.³ 'From the surface of her forehead, rugged with frowns, suddenly sprang forth a goddess, black and scowling, of terrible countenance, with drawn sword and lasso, bearing a many-coloured skull-topped staff (*khaṭvāṅga*), decorated with a garland of skulls, clad in a tiger's skin, grim with emaciation, exceedingly wide of mouth, lolling out her tongue terribly, having deep sunken reddish eyes, and filling the regions of the sky with her roars'.⁴ She killed Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa and consequently the epithet of Chāmuṇḍā was bestowed upon her in recognition of her achievement.⁵

Chāmuṇḍā's noteworthy feat did not include only the killing of Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, which earned for her the epithet 'Chāmuṇḍā', but also the invaluable assistance she rendered to Durgā in slaying Raktavīja (the blood-germ), another very powerful ally of Śumbha and Niśumbha. Raktavīja, entering the battle-field with a club, engaged in turn the Seven Mothers and received several wounds on his person.⁶ Streams of blood fell down on the earth from his wounds and no sooner the drops touched the ground than they assumed the forms of secondary demons, equal in valour and strength of the original one,⁷ pervading the whole world soon

1. *Mārkaṇḍeya P. (Devī-Mahātmya Section)*, ch. 85. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, ch. 86.

3. *Ibid.*, ch. 87. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, ch. 87. 5-7.

5. *Ibid.*, ch. 87. 25.

6. *Ibid.*, ch. 88.

7. *Ibid.*, ch. 88. 43.

by the multiplication of the *asuras*.¹ Ambikā addressed her : "O Chāmuṇḍā ! stretch out thy mouth wide; with this mouth do thou quickly take in the great *asuras*, which are the drops of blood that have come into being out of Raktavīja, at the descent of my weapon on him. Roam about in the battle-field, devouring the great *asuras* who sprang from him; so shall this Daitya, with his blood ebbing away, meet destruction".² Chāmuṇḍā did as she was bidden to do. She devoured the *asuras* that had sprung from the blood of Raktavīji and also quaffed all the blood that flowed out of his fresh wounds till he became bloodless and died.³

Images of Chāmuṇḍā are found all over the country, especially in Bengal, Assam and Orissa, the centres of Tāntrism, either separately or in a group of the Mātṛkās; but nowhere has she been depicted as engaged in the act of killing Chāṇḍa and Muṇḍa or in devouring up the *asuras* born out of the blood of Raktavīja. When in the group she is usually shown seated; but when alone, she is represented seated, standing or dancing.

The Purāṇas⁴ mention that Chāmuṇḍā should be represented as a skeleton in appearance—flesh dried up, bones showing through the skin, eyes sunken and abdomen contracted, with hairs standing on ends and snakes peeping out of them. She should be made laughing horribly, with the teeth very prominent and the tongue protruding out. She should have a garland of skulls and bones. She should be dressed in tiger's skin and she should have a corpse or an owl as her vehicle. Her abode should be in a funeral ground under a *vaṭa* tree. She should hold behind her the skin of an elephant. She should be of dark and blue colours; but in one form she is to be blood red. Alternatively, she should have an ass for her vehicle. Sometimes she should have a vulture represented on her banner.

An ordinary image of Chāmuṇḍā, according to the *Agni Purāṇa*,⁵ should have only four arms, carrying javelin and knife in the right and skull and spear (*paṭṭīśa*) in the left hands. But the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁶ mentions śakti (spear) or a head full of hairs and skull as her attributes. The *Śāradātilakatantra*⁷ describes Chāmuṇḍā as holding a spear, a sword, a human-head, and a skull in her hands, wearing a garland of heads and having a body of blood-red colour. In the *Viśvakarma-śilpaśāstra*,⁸ there are instructions for making eight, ten, twelve or sixteen armed images of the goddess. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*,⁹ however, provides her with ten arms, carrying *muṣala*, *kavacha*, *bāṇa*, *aṅkuṣa*, *khaḍga*, *pōśa*, *dhanuṣa*, *daṇḍa*, and *paraśu* in them.

1. *Ibid.*, ch. 88, 51.

2. *Ibid.*, ch. 88, 52-54.

3. *Ibid.*, ch. 88, 59-61.

4. *Agni P.*, ch. 50, 21-22 and 30-37, ch. 144, 30-37; *Matsya P.*, ch. 261, 33-37.

5. *Agni P.*, ch. 50, 21-22.

6. *Matsya P.*, ch. 261, 33-37.

7. *Śāradātilaka*.

8. *Viśvakarma*, ch. 7.

9. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, p. 386 and App. C, p. 152.

She is also characterised by a terrible face with powerful side tusks, very emaciated body and sunken eyes, and thin and apparently empty belly. She is also given the dead body of a human being as her vehicle. According to the *Amśumadbhedā-gama*,¹ she should have a skull (*kapāla*) and javelin (*śūla*) in two of her hands, the remaining ones being held in the *abhaya* and the *varada* poses. She is also to be three-eyed, red-coloured, and with thick hairs bristling upwards. Seated on *padmāsana*, she is required to wear a *yajñopavīta* of human skulls. But the *Pūrvakāraṇā-gama*² gives her an owl as her vehicle and an eagle as the emblem of her banner. It also adds that her mouth should be open and she should wear moon's digit over her head as Śiva. She is required to carry a skull filled with lumps of flesh and fire in her left hands and hold a snake in one of her right hands, with her ears adorned with *kuṇḍala* made of conch-shell (*śaṅkha-patra* or *kuṇḍala*).

As already stated, figures of Chāmuṇḍā, separate as well as in groups of the Mātṛkās, are met with in sculptural representations. She figures in the list of the Divine Mothers for she has been conceived as the consort of Bhairava (the most terrific aspect of Śiva) and it is in her this aspect that she makes her appearance along with other Mātṛkās, taking almost all the features of her lord. Earlier groups of the Mātṛkās have been represented on the stone slabs of the Mathurā region belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period; but in such reliefs they have not been distinguished either by their attributes or by their vehicles. As such Chāmuṇḍā cannot be definitely identified in them, for all the Mātṛkās have been shown simply as standing with their right hands raised in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left pendent and holding water-vessels or seated in a row on the pedestal.³ It is, however, in the later reliefs, even from the Mathurā region that she begins to show such features as prescribed by the texts. An interesting relief in the Mathurā Museum, bearing the figures of the Mātṛkās,⁴ depicts Chāmuṇḍā as having emaciated body, sunken belly and pendulous breasts, wearing a garland of skulls and seated on her *preta-vāhana*. These features, as will be presently seen, are also present in later figures of the goddess.

One of the most remarkable images of Chāmuṇḍā, perhaps the earliest in date amongst the three images from Orissa, is the colossal one from near the Mukti-maṇḍapa, now in the S.D.O.'s compound, at Jajpur.⁵ Though badly mutilated with all the four arms along with the attributes lost, the figure still faithfully reveals the character of the goddess as conceived by the Purāṇas. The goddess is represented as a hideous skeleton of a decrepit old woman, all bones and skin, without

1. *Ibid.*, App. C., pp. 151-52.

2. *Ibid.*, App. C., p. 152.

3. Agrawala, V.S., *A Cat. of the Brahmanical Images in the Mathura Art*, pp. 59-60 (nos. F.38, F.39, G.57, 126 etc.).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 62 (no. 552).

5. Hunter's *Orissa*, I, p. 269; *District Gazetteer, Cuttack*, p. 215; *SAB*, XVIII, pp. 87-88; *ASR*, pp. 335-36; *MAST*-44, p. 16.

flesh, seated in an easy posture, on a prostrate human-being. She wears necklace of human skulls and ornaments of bones. The sculptor's attempt to indicate the extreme emaciation of the goddess is remarkably successful, though anatomically open to criticism.

Another Jajpur image of Chāmuṇḍā deposited in the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭa shrine¹ is in a far better state of preservation. Much similar to the preceding one, she has all the four arms intact, holding a sword in her upper right hand and supporting a staff by her upper left hand. In the front upraised right hand, she holds a bowl of skull and in the front left hand catches a human head by its hair. In this specimen also, she is terrific in appearance, all bones, without flesh, having wide mouth with protruding tongue (not visible in the first example) and sunken eyes. She is seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on a human body. The skin of the elephant, as required by the *Agni Purāṇa*, is conspicuous by its absence. It is, however, shown in the Puri image,² which is also much similar to the above two examples in several respects. In both the Jajpur Chāmuṇḍā figures, the prostrate human figure is represented as supplicating for mercy with the palms joined and with the upper half of the body resting on the right side. But in representing the lower half of the body, the sculptors seem to have committed a serious mistake by showing the back, instead of the front. This defect is, however, successfully avoided in the Puri image. "In all these three images", says Chanda,³ "the sculptors appear to have ignored nature. They look like mere caricatures of the emaciated human body. But as caricatures they are full of life. The tense muscular tissues and veins instill movement into the figures of the goddess who seems to be enjoying a little rest after a very hard fight. Her terrible countenance is not without its redeeming features. The supplication of the prostrate Asura seems to have touched her heart, and so ferocity mingled with pity is reflected there. It is doubtful whether human imagination has ever succeeded in conceiving anything more hideous than Chāmuṇḍā."

The figure of Chāmuṇḍā from Kāmakhya⁴ (Assam) is also characterised by features like protruding teeth, long tongue, erected hair, emaciated body, sunken eyes and withered belly. She holds a trident in one of her hands and a skull or a cup in the other. Her another figure from Na-Bhanga, Nowgong,⁵ is similarly terrible to look at—grim in appearance. This figure too shows Chāmuṇḍā emaciated with the bones of the chest exposed, eyes sunken in their sockets, abdomen shrivelled and the mouth wide agape. Human skulls are laced round her matted locks of hair, waist and neck, and she is seated on a corpse, with a vulture on the right

1. Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, pl. XLIV.5; *MAI*-44, p. 17, pl. I. 2.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 17, pl. IX.3.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

4. Barua, B.K., *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 185, fig. 49.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 185, fig. 50.

side and a jackal on the left. Further below are a skull and a few bones. This uncanny figure is iconographically remarkable, being a rare specimen. A jackal in association with Chāmuṇḍā is not indicated in the texts though a vulture is said to decorate her banner. It is, however, enough to note that Chāmuṇḍā has been conceived as the goddess of the funeral ground and the presence of the jackal and the vulture evidently indicates the sculptor's desire to present an atmosphere of the funeral ground which is frequented by the jackals and the vultures in search of bones and flesh and also to present a most terrific background.

Chāmuṇḍā on the northern wall of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple¹ (c. 650 A.D.) at Bhubaneśwar holds a lily bud and a *vīja-pūraka* in the right and a long trident and a vase in the left hands. The drooping breasts, sunken belly, sinews and bones in the body and the neck are the noteworthy features of the figure. The pedestal shows an owl flanked by two tripods with a vase and flowers. But Chāmuṇḍā on western facade of the Brahmeśvara temple² (c. 1060 A.D.) holds a trident and a human head and stands upon a corpse with a jackal biting at its head. Another figure of the goddess on the northern wall of the Jagamohana³ wears only a loin cloth and holds a human head and a *kharpara*. A jackal licks the blood dropping from the head, while another animal, presumably a buffalo, looks up in between the thighs of the goddess. The buffalo apparently suggests her connection with Yama, for Bhairava is also known as Kāla-Bhairava. The figures of Chāmuṇḍā from Bhubaneśwar thus fall under two different groups. The first group has an owl on the pedestal, whereas the second group has a corpse eaten by a jackal. The figure of Chāmuṇḍā in the second group has a snake over the head, which is not to be found in the figures of the same deity in the first. The figures of both the groups can easily be distinguished on a consideration of clear stylistic differences—the figures of the first group belonging to a period preceding that of the first.⁴

The figure of Chāmuṇḍā from Burdwan, in the Asutosh Museum at Calcutta,⁵ belonging to the mediaeval period, also shows the goddess as conceived in the Purāṇas, seated on the back of a human body lying on the chest; it does not, however, appear to be a corpse but a living figure.

The stone head of Chāmuṇḍā in the Bhilsa Museum is a very interesting piece.⁶ It shows the goddess with her mouth wide agape and her head adorned with matted locks of hair around which are laced human skulls. Toothless jaws, sunken cheeks and eyes deep in the socket add to the fearfulness of the goddess. The specimen is datable in c. 1000 A.D.

1. Panigrahi, K.C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 71-72.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

5. *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 70, pl. LXXXI.D.

6. Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, pl. 120.

There is a highly interesting figure of Chāmuṇḍā from Baghaura in the Allahabad Museum carved out of plum coloured sandstone.¹ Chāmuṇḍā, with most of her arms and feet broken, has been rendered dancing with one of her fingers raised to the level of her open lips. Her hair arranged in the *piṅgalodhā* fashion is secured in position by a serpent. At the feet of the goddess is a recumbent male figure, resting his raised head on one of his arms, while one of his feet is being devoured by a dog. The sculpture is dated in c. 11th century A.D.

There is a highly interesting image of Chāmuṇḍā executed between two pilasters on the outer wall of the Nilakanṭha Temple at Arthuna in Rajasthan.² The eight-armed goddess has been represented in a dancing pose with the toe of the right foot slightly raised. She holds a cobra, a *triśūla* and a *khaṭvāṅga*. One of her left hands is displayed in an attitude expressing surprise. Her two right hands are broken. A jackal standing nearby is probably trying to lick the drops of blood falling from the severed human head which was obviously held in one of her broken right hands. The most interesting feature of great iconographic significance is the presence of a fish in a bowl held in her front left hand. Displaying some Tāntric trait, the fish (*matsya*) is regarded as one of the *pañchamakāras*. Fish has also been found in association with the figures of other goddesses like Vārāhī, Vasudhārā and Hārītī. But the association of a fish with Chāmuṇḍā is indeed of unusual iconographic interest. The goddess has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* adorned with a human skull. Her protruding eyeballs depict a fierce and blood thirsty expression. She wears a garland of skulls and a pair of *sarpa-kunḍalas*, besides other ornaments. A lion-skin is tied round her waist with the head of the tiger resting on her right thigh. The representation of the goddess 'with her bones and veins showing through the skin, bare canine teeth, ghastly expression, pendulous breasts and sunken belly with a scorpion mark on it, portrays in a remarkable manner the weird and the uncanny'.³ Belonging to the Paramara art, the sculpture is dated in c. 12th century A.D.

Of approximately the same period, there is yet another equally interesting image of seated Chāmuṇḍā from Chandravati near Mt. Abu showing a fish placed in a bowl held in her front left hand. The four-armed goddess shows *vismaya* pose by her front left hand. In her other hands, she carries a *triśūla* and a *khaṭvāṅga*. There is a human corpse in a crouching posture carved on the pedestal near the left foot of the goddess (Fig. 34).⁴

N.K. Bhattasali,⁵ on the authority of the *Agni Purāṇa*,⁶ has enumerated eight different varieties of Chāmuṇḍā images. They are :— (i) Rudra Charchikā, (ii) Ru-

1. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, pp. 103-04, pl. XC.244.

2. *JISOA (New Series)*, Vol. II, p. 49, pl. XIV, fig. 1.

3. *Ibid.*

4. A similar image can also be seen on the outer walls of the Nilakanṭha temple at Arthuna in Rajasthan. Sharma, B.N., *JISOA (N.S.)*, II, p. 49, pl. XIV, fig. 1.

5. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-11.

6. *Agni P.*, ch. 50. 30-37.

dra Chāmuṇḍā, (iii) Mahā Lakṣmī, (iv) Siddha Chāmuṇḍā, (v) Siddha Yogeśvarī, (vi) Rūpa Vidyā, (vii) Kṣamā, and (viii) Dānturā. Besides these, he mentions two more varieties, viz. (i) Kālikā (as noticed in the *Agni Purāṇa*) and (ii) Kubjikā (as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*).

Rudra Charchikā is described as six-armed, having skull, knife, javelin and lasso in four of them, the remaining ones holding the two ends of an elephant's skin, and is further said to be 'posing with head and foot thrown up'.¹ The two six-armed images of Chāmuṇḍā in the Rajshahi Museum appear to be the images of this class;² rather one of them is labelled as 'Charchikā' (in the characters of the 11th-12th century A.D.) in which the goddess is shown seated on a corpse underneath a tree.³

Rudra Chāmuṇḍā is eight-armed, having a human head and a kettledrum, in addition to the attributes of Rudra Charchikā in her hands.⁴ The image of Phuleśvarī Devī appears to illustrate this class of image; the attributes, however, do not all agree.⁵

Mahā Lakṣmī is also to be eight-armed; but she should be sitting and four-faced.⁶ The images illustrated in the Archaeological Survey Report of Mayurbhañja appear to illustrate this class of Chāmuṇḍā images. They do not, however, appear to have four faces.⁷

Siddha Chāmuṇḍā is ten-armed with javelin, sword, kettledrum, and bone in her right hands, and shield, bell, mace (*khaṭvāṅga*) and trident in the left hands, the remaining two probably holding the two ends of an elephant's skin.⁸ Rajshahi Museum Nos. 3, 5, and 6 and the one illustrated in the *Virabhūma Vivaraṇa*, pt. ii, against p. 144 seem to be the images of this class. Both the sitting and the standing varieties are represented in this class.⁹

Siddha Yogeśvarī¹⁰ and Rūpa Vidyā¹¹ both have twelve arms, holding lasso and elephant goad in addition to the attributes of Siddha Chāmuṇḍā. They are, however, not differentiated in the text; but some of the figures are represented standing and others sitting. The standing figures, according to Bhattasali,¹² may be taken to be

1. *Ibid.*, ch. 50. 30-31.
2. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 209; *Rajshahi Museum Catalogue*, nos. D(d) 7/280 and D(d) 10,280.
3. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
4. *Agni P.*, ch. 50. 30-31.
5. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
6. *Agni P.*, ch. 50. 32.
7. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-10; Vasu, N.N., *Archl. Survey of Mayurbhanja*, illustrated against pp. lxvi and lxviii.
8. *Agni P.*, ch. 50. 33-36.
9. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

those of Siddha Yogeśvarī and the seated ones of Rūpa Vidyā. The Dacca Museum specimen, hailing from Rāmpālā, is one of the best specimens of Siddha Yogeśvarī, as mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa*. She dances on the shoulders of a *gaṇa* (represented as a plump boy) holding in her six right hands boon, knife, kettledrum, one end of an elephant's skin, arrow and sword. The small finger of the front left hand is raised to the lips as if cutting the nail between her teeth, while the remaining five hands carry bow, the other end of the elephant's skin, skull, corpse and trident. The locks of the goddess are thrown up and snakes are peeping out of them. The goddess has a garland of skulls and pieces of bones, and she wears a tiger's skin. Her ear-rings are also composed of snakes. The trunk of a *vaṭa* tree is behind the goddess; but her vehicle, the owl, is absent.¹ A few more twelve-armed images of Chāmuṇḍā are to be found in the Rajshahi Museum; some of them represented as seated and others dancing.² The seated images may be taken to be those of Rūpa Vidyā.

Kṣamā has only two hands represented as an old woman, with lips apart and surrounded by jackals.³ No images of this type are known.

Dānturā is also two-armed represented as squatting on the ground with a hand on her knee. An image of the two-handed Chāmuṇḍā sitting on her haunches, hailing from Aṭṭahāsa (Burdwan), now in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Museum,⁴ represents the Dānturā aspect of this goddess. The figure with its bare canine teeth, rounded eyes, ghastly smile, emaciated body, lean and pendulous breasts, sunken belly and peculiar sitting posture portrays in a remarkable manner the weird and the uncanny. Another image of Chāmuṇḍā hailing from Jajpur,⁵ which represents the Dānturā aspect of this dire goddess (and which has been mentioned as Śiva-dūti by Chanda),⁶ has been described by Stirling⁷: "Her form is that of decrepit old woman, seated on a pedestal, quite naked with a countenance alike, expressive of extreme age, and that sourness of disposition which has rendered her proverbial as scold". The sculpture represents the two-armed goddess emaciated, seated on her haunches with long distended ears, lean pendulous breasts and projecting ribs, an evil cruel smile lurking on her broad bare face. The mocking and ghastly expression of the whole face is further emphasised by the way in which the eyes are shown. All these features endow the sculpture, as said by Banerjea,⁸ with a character and prove that the artist has been able to portray in a remarkable manner the weird and the uncanny in Indian sculptural art.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 210 and 211-12, pl. LXXI, b; *HBR*, I, p. 455.

2. *VRS Report*, 1936-38, pp. 27-28, fig. 4.

3. *Agni P.*, ch. 50. 37.

4. *JBSP*, vol. XXII, p. 28; *VSP Catalogue*, p. 84, pl. XX; *HBR*, I, p. 455; Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 211. A few other images of Dānturā are known, most of them being in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum.

5. *MAI-44*, p. 18, pl. I.3.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. I.3, p. 18.

7. Stirling, A., *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical, of Orissa Proper and Cuttack* (Asiatic Researches, vol. xv, 1825, p. 336).

8. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 507, pl. XLV.1.

Kālikā is to be represented naked, with a necklace of skulls and seated on an ass.¹ The Rajshahi Museum sculpture² representing the goddess seated on an ass and inscribed as '*pīṣitāsana*' appears to be an image of this class.

Kubjikā has six heads. She has other intricate features also.³ No image of this type has been found so far.

Gopinatha Rao has illustrated both the composite and separate images of Saptamātṛkās hailing from different parts of southern India, viz. from Ellorā,⁴ Belur⁵ and Kumbakonam.⁶ Profusely decorated figures of the Divine Mothers from Dhārvaḍa (Hāveri) have been illustrated by Cousens.⁷ In all these fully developed figures of the Mātṛkās, Chāmuṇḍā is characterised by the features identical with those which have been noticed in the north Indian examples. In the Pallava art as well, Chāmuṇḍā is distinguished by protruding fangs of teeth, round bulging eyes depicting angry expression and a garland of human skulls. She is, however, not emaciated (Fig. 35).

1. *Matsya P.*, ch. 261. 33-37.

2. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 211; *HBR*, I, p. 455.

3. *Agni P.*, ch. 144. 30-37.

4. Rao, *EHI*, II, ii, pl. CXVIII.1.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. CXVIII.2.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. CXIX.

7. Cousens, H., *Chalukyan Architecture*, fig. 28.

SAPTA-MĀTRKĀ

SAPTA-MĀTRKĀS or the Seven Mothers, representing the *śaktis* or the endowed energies of the important familiar deities, are Brahmānī (or Sarasvatī), Māheśvarī (or Raudrī), Kaumārī (or Kārttikeyānī), Vaiṣṇavī (or Lakṣmī), Vārāhī, Indranī (or Māhendrī) and Chāmuṇḍā (or Chāmuṇḍī). There are, however, occasional variations in the list of the Mātrkās with regard to their number and the order of their enumeration; usually they are seven, though eight or more of them can be counted.¹ Banerjea² points out that the Gaṅgadhāra Stone inscription of Kumārgupta I, which refers to the Mātrkās, says nothing about their exact number, nor does it contain their respective names. Their number is, however, given seven in the preamble of the inscriptions of the early Chālukyan rulers, but not their names.³ Varāhamihira⁴ is also silent about their number and names; he simply mentions that the Mātrkās are to be made with cognisances of the gods corresponding to their names. Utpala⁵ commenting on the above passage has named them as Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Raudrī (Māheśvarī), Kaumārī, Aindrī, Yamī, Vāruṇī and Kauberī; then he adds that there are other Mātrgaṇas like Nārasimhī, Vārāhī and Vaināyakī. This has led Banerjea to suggest, 'it appears that side by side with the common concept about the stereotyped number of the Divine Mothers or *śaktis* of seven or eight gods there existed a belief about the *śaktis* of other gods or their aspects'. It may, however, be noted that the *Skandapurāṇa*,⁶ the *Devīpurāṇa*,⁷ and the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*⁸ mention more Mātrkās, whereas only eight Mātrkās have been mentioned by the *Devībhāga-vata*,⁹ the *Nityaśoḍaśikāṛṇava*,¹⁰ the *Prapañchasāratāntara*,¹¹ the *Lingapurāṇa*,¹² the *Man-*

1. Avalon, A., *Introduction of Prapanchasara Tantra*, p. 35; Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, p. 503.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 503.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 503.

4. *Br. Sam.*, ch. 57, v. 56.

5. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 504.

6. *Skanda P. (Kāśikhaṇḍa)*, 83.33 of the *Uttarārḍha*.

7. *Devī P.*, chap. 87.

8. *Brahmavaivarta P. (Prakṛtikhaṇḍa)*, 64. 87-88.

9. *Devībhāgavata*, 12. 11 57, 58. Nārasimhī is substituted for Mahālakṣmī in 9.50.

10. *Nityaśoḍaśikāṛṇava* belonging to *Vāmakeśvaratantra*, 8.126 ff.

11. *Prapañchasāratāntara*, ch. 3.

12. *Linga P. (Pūrvārḍha)*, 82. 96, Agneyikā, a new name for Mahālakṣmī.

*tramahodadhi*¹ of Mahidhara and the *Varāhapurāṇa*.² Even the *Devīpurāṇa*³ gives eight names of the Mātṛkās at another place. The *Kathāsaritśāgara*⁴ refers to a group of the Mātṛkās headed by Nārāyaṇī, the other names being not given. In the subsequent liturgical literature of the Hindus as many as sixteen Mātṛkās are given, beginning with Gaurī.⁵ But the usually accepted list supported by the iconographic data, as suggested by Banerjea,⁶ consists of the seven Mātṛkās, namely, Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā, with certain variations.

The antiquity of such a group of the Mātṛkās is, however, shrouded in mystery, though Mackay⁷ has endeavoured to trace the prevalence of the worship of the Divine Mothers as early as the 3rd millennium B.C. when the rich civilization flourished in the Indus valley. As already referred to, Varāhamihira⁸ refers to the worship of the Mātṛgaṇas as the chief manifestation of the Śakti cult. The *Mṛchchhakaṭika*⁹ also bears testimony to the worship of the Mātṛkās by the people in general; so also does the Bihar Stone inscription of Skandagupta¹⁰ in which they have been associated with Kārttikeya. Hemachandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvyā*¹¹ refers to a household temple for the worship of the Mātṛkās (Mātṛveśma). The Mātṛkās figure prominently in the Tāntric ritual. From the *sādhadas* in the Buddhist literature, it appears that the Tāntric Buddhism had also incorporated the Sapta-Mātṛkās in its religious fold.¹² This is amply corroborated by the discovery of a composite figure of the Seven Mothers at Nālandā.¹³

There are two different Paurāṇic versions relating to the origin of the Mātṛkās. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,¹⁴ the Mātṛkās aided Ambikā along with Chāmuṇḍā in causing death to the most powerful ally of the demon king Śumbha, named Raktavija, who was endowed with the character of multiplying into secondary demons equal to himself in strength and prowess no sooner drops of blood oozing from the wounds on the person of the Asura touched the ground. Similar was the case with Andhakāsura, another mighty demon, who fought against Śiva.¹⁵ Śiva

1. *Mantramahodadhi*, 3.17, 18.

2. *Varāha P.*, ch. 27.

3. *Devī P.*, 37. 83-90.

4. *Kathāsaritśāgara*, 56. 76.

5. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 504.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 505.

7. Mackay, E., *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 58, pl. XVII.8.

8. *Br. Sam.*, ch. 59, v. 19.

9. *Mṛchchhakaṭika*.

10. Fleet, *CII*, iii, p. 47.

11. *Dvyāśrayakāvyā*, 19.59.

12. *Sādhana-mālā*, II, p. 407.

13. *MAI*-44, pp. 114-15.

14. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 88.

15. *Varāha P.*, ch. 27; *Matsya P.*, 179, 2 ff, 9 ff.

created Yogeśvarī out of the flame that issued from his mouth and other gods also sent their *Śaktis* (the Māṭrkās) to his aid. It was with the assistance of these Māṭrkās that Śiva could cause death to the demon. In both the cases, the Māṭrkās manipulated so as not to allow the blood dropping from the wounds of the demons to fall on the ground, thereby stopping further multiplication of the secondary demons and consequently the demons, becoming powerless after the blood ran short, were defeated and slain.

The iconographic features of these Mothers are found in greater details in the *Agni Purāṇa*,¹ the *Amśumadbhedāgama*,² the *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*,³ the *Matsya Purāṇa*,⁴ the *Rūpavatāra*,⁵ the *Rūpamaṇḍana*,⁶ the *Viśvakarmaśāstra*,⁷ the *Śilparatna*,⁸ the *Śrītattvanidhi*⁹ and others. Gopinatha Rao¹⁰ has given in greater details the iconography of the Seven Mothers (Brahmāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrāṇī, Chāmūṇḍā, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī and Vārāhī) in his monumental work on Hindu iconography. To be precise, the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*¹¹ mentions that 'the Mothers are to be made with the forms and the cognisances of the gods whom they are named after'. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,¹² 'the Śaktis of the individual gods are characterised by the respective forms, ornaments and mounts of those gods'. Rao¹³ remarks, 'These are the female counterparts who are armed with the same weapons, wear the same ornaments and ride the same *vāhanas* and carry the same banners as the corresponding male gods do'. Brahmāṇī should be sculptured like Brahmā, Māheśvarī like Maheśvara, Vaiṣṇavī like Viṣṇu, Vārāhī like a short woman with angry face and bearing a plough as her weapon, Indrāṇī like Indra and Chāmūṇḍā as a terrific woman.¹⁴

The images of the Māṭrkās, however, do not represent them either engaged in assisting Śiva in his war against Andhakāsura or Ambikā against Raktavīja or devouring the secondary demons born out of the blood of any of the two demons; they are shown simply standing or seated at ease along with their respective characteristic features. They have either two or four hands—if four-handed, two of them usually held in the *abhaya* and the *varada* poses. They are also accompanied by the

1. *Agni P.*, ch. 50. 18-22.

2. *Amśumadbhedāgama*, 46/67.

3. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, App. C, pp. 143 ff.

4. *Matsya P.*, 261/24.

5. *Rūpavatāra*, ch. 47.

6. *Viśvakarma*, 2/82.

7. *Śilparatna*, ch. 24/76.

8. *Śrītattvanidhi*, pp. 4 and 12.

9. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, pp. 383/84.

10. *Br. Sam.*, 57/56.

11. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 88, v. 13.

12. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, pp. 380-81.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 383.

vāhanas of the gods. Sometimes they are also found accompanied by children, in order to emphasise their 'Mother Aspect'.

A stone slab of the early Kuṣāṇa period, from Dhanagāon near Mathurā, now in the Mathurā Museum,¹ represents the Mātṛkās as ordinary females, without any distinguishing symbol or vehicle. Standing in a row, these females have their right hands raised in *abhaya mudrā*, while they have water-vessels held by their suspended left hands. All of them wear ear pendants, bracelets, anklets and are attired in a skirt (*c'āṇḍātaka*) in place of the usual *dhotī*. These seven female figures were flanked on either side by a male figure (*āyudha-puruṣa*) with his right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and a long spear held in his left hand; the one on the proper left being presently lost.

Another slab from Kevala near Māt² also depicts an identical group of the Mātṛkās in which only six of the Mothers are presently preserved, accompanied by the *Āyudha-puruṣas*. Still another stone slab belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period from Jamalpur in the Mathurā Museum³ has five out of the Seven Mothers preserved along with one of the *Āyudha-puruṣas*, standing on the right with a spear in his left hand. In this specimen also the Divine Mothers are without their distinctive symbols or their respective *vāhanas* with their right hands raised in *abhaya-mudrā*; but unlike in the former groups, they are all seated in a row. Still there is another fragmentary relief in the Mathurā Museum⁴ carved with a row of the five of the Divine Mothers only with their right hands in *abhaya mudrā*. They are, however, supporting something indistinct by their left hands and are seated in *bhadrāsana* with both their legs pendent. The *Āyudha-puruṣas* are, however, absent in this group. Thus the convention of carving the Mātṛkās between Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa was preceded by the figures of two *Āyudha-puruṣas* in the Kuṣāṇa period; but even this feature is absent in the group under discussion.

Next stage in the development of the Mātṛkā figures is furnished by the relief in which four of the Divine Mothers have each a child in the left arm. The relief from a garden near Kaṅkālī Tīlā, now in the Mathurā Museum,⁵ belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, shows the Divine Mothers seated to front with their feet placed on foot-stools. Though considerably damaged, another relief of the same period in the Mathurā Museum,⁶ represents only three of the Divine Mothers, each with a child, but in various attitudes. There is still another relief⁷ in which five of the Mothers are represented with a child in the lap; but what is noteworthy is that the figurines

1. Agrawala, V.S., *A Cat. of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 59 (no. F. 38).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60. (no. 126).

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60 (no. G. 57).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 60 (no. G. 57).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 59 (no. F. 31).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 59 (no. F. 34).

7. *Ibid.*, p. 61 (no. 2331).

are distinguished not by their attitudes or vehicles, but by the different animal faces borrowed from their respective *vāhanas*. There are other reliefs¹ also in which the Mothers are shown with animal faces. One of these, a fragmentary relief,² which depicts busts of three of the Divine Mothers in *abhaya mudrā*, has the second figure with the face of a boar and the third with that of a lion, thus representing the last two as the Mothers Vārāhī and Nārasimhī.

There is another very interesting relief in the Mathurā Museum³ which shows the Divine Mothers in a somewhat developed form. It represents the Seven Mothers, with haloed heads, each holding a child in the left arm. The first, Brahmānī, has three heads (the fourth one not visible) and holds a laddle in her right hand. Her vehicle is a swan (*hamsa*). Next is Māheśvarī standing with a trident (*triśūla*) against her vehicle, the bull. The third is Kaumārī holding a spear and standing with a peacock as her vehicle. The fourth is Vaiṣṇavī with a mace and a kneeling Garuḍa as her vehicle. The fifth is Vārāhī holding a broken staff (*daṇḍa-dhārīṇī*) which according to the Purāṇas is also sometimes a plough or a *śakti*. Her vehicle is Mahiṣī. The sixth is Indrāṇī whose emblem, now broken, was probably a *vajra*. Her vehicle is an elephant. The last of the group is Chāmuṇḍā, recognised by her *preta-vāhana*, garland of skulls (*muṇḍa-mālā*), emaciated body and sunken belly. The heads of Māheśvarī and Chāmuṇḍā are broken. On the proper right side of the Sapta-Mātṛkās is the figure of Virabhadra wearing a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and playing on a *vīṇā*. At the other end of the series stands the pot-bellied and elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, here worshipped as Vināyaka, who holds a dagger and a bowl of sweetmeats and has a mouse as his vehicle.

In Orissa are to be found certain varieties of the Mātṛkā figures in developed forms. A row of nine figures constituting an early group of the Sapta-Mātṛkās with the two associates Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra is to be found on the northern wall of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple (c. 650 A.D.)⁴ at Bhubaneśwar. They are Chāmuṇḍā, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Māheśvarī, Brāhmī, flanked by Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra. All the figures are four-armed, excepting Virabhadra who has only two arms. Chāmuṇḍā has a lily bud and a *vīja-pūraka* in the upper and the lower right hands and a long trident and a vase in the left hands. Her vehicle, an owl, is carved on the pedestal. Owl being an inauspicious and dreadful bird is given to Chāmuṇḍā as her vehicle. The drooping breasts, sunken belly, sinews and bones shown in the body and the neck are the noteworthy features. Vārāhī holds a lotus and a fish in the right hands (the fish being in the hand probably indicative of her some Tāntric trait) and a *kuṭhāra* and a vase in the left. A human figure seated with its hands placed on the ground is carved on the pedestal. Vaiṣṇavī has a *śaṅkha*, a *chakra*

1. *Ibid.*, p. 60 (nos. 880 and 1002).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60 (no. 1002).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 62 (no. 552).

4. Panigrahi, K.C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 71-72.

and a vase in her hands. There is no figure of the mount on the pedestal. Kaumārī holds a *vīja-pūraka* in the right hand and a long spear in the left. There is also no figure on the pedestal. Indrāṇī holds a *vajra* in the left hand and a vase in the right, with an elephant in between two tripods on the pedestal. Māheśvarī has an *akṣamālā* and a *vīja-pūraka* in the right hands and a *gadā* and a trident in the left. No figure can be seen on the pedestal in her case also. Brāhmī has an *akṣamālā* and a *vīja-pūraka* in the right hands and a *ketakī* flower and a vase in the left. A duck is to be seen on the pedestal. Gaṇeśa, at the beginning of the group, has the usual attributes of a *kuṭhāra*, *modakas*, *akṣamālā* and a radish. Virabhadra, only two-armed, is seated holding a lotus bud in the right hand. A long trident is posted to its proper left. The pedestal contains bull and a vase with a loop-handle. Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra are enjoined to be represented in association with the Mātṛkās.

The ceiling of the *jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara temple also contains beautiful figures of the Sapta-Mātṛkās, each occupying one of the petals of the eight-petalled lotus at the centre conceived in the form of a canopy.¹ These figures constitute a group of the Sapta-Mātṛkās with Vireśvara. The main difference of the group from the earlier ones is that all the Mātṛkās except Chāmuṇḍā hold babies in their arms and that Vireśvara holds a sword in the right hand.

A group of the Sapta-Mātṛkās, headed by Vireśvara, begins in the eastern inner wall and ends in the centre of the western side of the cella of the Vaitāl Deul² (c. 775 A.D.) with the largest image of Chāmuṇḍā, which is the presiding deity of the shrine. All the Mātṛkās have certain characteristics common to them all. They, including Vireśvara, are seated in *yogāsana* on full blown lotuses with two flying Vidyādhara, usually found at the top corners and their pedestals are occupied by certain common objects, such as a jug with protruding lip and a loop-handle, a tripod with cup containing *modakas* or flowers and an incense burner. Besides a halo surrounds the head of each deity. Vireśvara, the first in the group, is four-handed, with an *akṣamālā* and a trident in the two upper hands and a *vīja-pūraka* in the lower left, the palm of the lower right being shown upturned; Nandi is shown on the pedestal. The attributes in the hands of Brāhmī are all indistinct, but her three visible heads and the duck on the pedestal serve as the identifying features. Māheśvarī with a bull on the pedestal and with an *akṣamālā* and a trident in the upper hands occurs to the left of Brāhmī. Kaumārī, partially mutilated, is to be seen with her peacock on the pedestal. The peculiarity to be noted with regard to Nārāyaṇī is that she has no Garuḍa on the pedestal, but has a human figure with the left hand raised, perhaps a devotee. Nārāyaṇī is otherwise identifiable by *śaṅkha*, *chakra*, *gadā* and perhaps *padma* in her hands. The sow-headed Vārāhī occurs with a fish and a battle-axe as the main objects in her hands. A male devotee is to be found on the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

pedestal seated on haunches and the hands placed on the feet. Indrā has a thunderbolt in her left hand; there is an elephant on the pedestal. Chāmūṇḍā, being always covered with a piece of cloth, has her features unknown; but her sunken eyes and a corpse under her feet with a jackal dragging it indicate her to be a terrific goddess.

A rectangular panel from Abanerī, now in the Amer Museum, belonging to the 8th century A.D.,¹ depicts lord Śiva in a dancing pose in the company of the Divine Mothers and Bhairava. Beginning from the left the deities have been depicted in the following order: Māheśvarī, two-handed, is holding a trident in the right hand, the left one is broken. She has her third eye on the forehead. Vaiṣṇavī is holding a conch and a garland. The dancing Śiva is four-handed, wearing a lion-skin covering the lower portion of his body. The bull Nandi is behind him. Vārāhī is sow-faced, holding *khaṭvāṅga* and fish. Kaumārī is holding a cock in the left and a peacock touching the right breast in the right. Indrāṇī is holding an *aṅkuṣa* in the right hand with an elephant carved underneath. And Bhairava, four-armed, is standing on a human corpse. He is shown with his emaciated body.²

A highly interesting fragmentary relief of the mediaeval period, now in the Mathurā Museum,³ hailing from Kāgārolā in the Agrā district represents only three out of the Seven Divine Mothers; others being lost. They are Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī and Vārāhī, all of them four-armed, seated side by side, on a plain pedestal in *bhadrāsana* attitude with both their legs pendent. Kaumārī has a long spear in her front left hand; other forearms being broken, no attributes are preserved, but she appears to have placed her front right hand on her thigh. Her mount, the peacock, is shown in between her legs, whom she is offering something from her front right hand. Vaiṣṇavī is holding her front right hand in the *varada* pose, a mace in her upraised back right hand, a *chakra* in the back left hand, and she is supporting a standing baby by her front left hand held low. The baby is shown touching the breast of the Mother with his left hand. A Garuḍa is shown seated to her right with his right hand held over his head. Vārāhī is keeping her front right hand on her thigh and holding a trident and a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) by her back right and front left hands, the back left hand being broken. Her *vāhana* is shown seated on the pedestal towards her right with its front part raised up.

There is an interesting Sapta-Mātṛkā panel in the Allahabad Museum⁴ from Gurgi in the Rewa district of Madhya Pradesh. All the Seven Divine Mothers along with

1. *Lalit-Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, p. 133; *5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien*, pp. 154-55.

2. A Sapta-Mātṛkā panel from Rajasthan is also preserved in the National Museum at New Delhi. But here the mounts and a child in the lap of each goddess are not shown. Besides these, the figures of Ganeśa and Virabhadra are also absent in this interesting relief. Sharma, B.N., *Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume*, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 301-306 and plate.

3. Nagar, M.M., *Purātattva-Saṅgrahālaya—Mathurā-ki-Parichaya-Pustaka*, pl. XXXI, fig. 68.

4. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 119, pl. CV. 301.

Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa have been rendered dancing vigorously. Carved out of plum coloured sandstone, the panel begins with the figure of dancing Virabhadra at the left who is holding a *viṇā* and a trident in his hands and is accompanied by his mount, the bull. It ends with the figure of Gaṇeśa who too is dancing, holding a bowl of sweets in his hand and is accompanied by his rat now damaged. The Divine Mothers are also shown similarly dancing, each of them carrying a babe and holding appropriate emblems and also accompanied by her respective vehicle. The Seven Mothers represented are Brahmānī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrānī and Chāmuṇḍā. Brahmānī is seen holding a *śruk*. Māheśvarī is having a trident and she is accompanied by a bull. Kaumārī has a spear and she is accompanied by her peacock. Vaiṣṇavī is having a mace and a discus and she is accompanied by her Garuḍa. The sow-faced Vārāhī is accompanied by a buffalo. Indrānī is having a thunderbolt and a goad in her hands and is accompanied by her elephant. Chāmuṇḍā is holding a skull-cup, a kettledrum and a club with one of her fingers raised in front of her mouth. She is found dancing on a prostrate human figure. The panel dated in c. 10th century A.D. is enclosed on three sides by a lotus rhizome which issues from the mouth of a Kīrttimukha placed in the centre of the top margin. The carving is rich and the composition is crowded.

A badly worn pink coloured sandstone panel from Rewa in Madhya Pradesh, now housed in the Allahabad Museum,¹ represents the composite figure of the Sapta-Mātṛkās accompanied by Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa. Virabhadra, depicted as half dancing and half seated, is holding a *viṇā*, a trident and an indistinguishable object, and he is accompanied by his mount, the bull. The Seven Mothers depicted from left to right in between Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa are Brahmānī, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrānī, Vārāhī, Durgā and Chāmuṇḍā. Brahmānī is holding a *śruk*, a book and a water-pot and she is accompanied by a goose. Māheśvarī is holding a trident, an unidentified object and a water-pot and she is accompanied by a bull. Vaiṣṇavī, who is holding a club, a discus and a conch, is accompanied by a Garuḍa. Indrānī holding a goad, a lotus and a water-pot is accompanied by an elephant. The sow-faced Vārāhī is having a bowl, a lotus and a water-pot. Durgā, who is holding a trident, a lotus and a water-pot, is accompanied by a lion. Chāmuṇḍā is carrying an unidentified object in one of her hands and is holding a trident and a *khatvāṅga* with one of her fingers brought near her mouth. She is seated on a prostrate human figure. Lastly, there is Gaṇeśa having a book, a club, an unidentified object and a bowl of sweets in his hands and he is accompanied by a rat. The sculpture is dated in about the 11th century A.D.

Composite figures of the Divine Mothers depicting them in the groups of more than seven have also been found from different parts of northern India. A stone slab

1. Chandra, P., *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, p. 161, pl. CLX. 466.

in the Vārendra Research Society Museum¹ depicts nine Mothers in the following order : Brahmāṇī, Raudrī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Maḥiṣamardinī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Chāmuṇḍā and Śimhāvāhinī. A stone slab depicting eight Mothers along with the figure of Gaṇapati is reported from the Western Circle of the Archaeology Department.² The Siddhanātha temple of Nemād³ (M.P.) has eight Mātrkāś upon it. Earlier also we have found two or three of the Divine Mothers only represented in a group in the Mathurā Museum reliefs.⁴ All these evidently seem to suggest that although the number of the Divine Mothers was seven, yet it was elastic, and they could be represented in groups of less or more than seven Mātrkāś.

Separate reliefs of the Mātrkāś and their guardians are also common. The Patna Museum is in possession of a group of sculptures representing Sapta-Mātrkāś from Seraikela in the Singhbhum district.⁵ The seven Mothers represented are Vaiṣṇavī, Māheśvarī, Indrāṇī, Brahmāṇī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī and Chāmuṇḍā. Of these goddesses, Vaiṣṇavī and Chāmuṇḍā are four-armed, while the rest are all two-armed. Each of the goddesses has a child on her left lap, excepting Vārāhī who has a small child seated between her legs. The four-armed Vaiṣṇavī is seated on her Garuḍa with spread out wings. She carries a discus and a mace in her two upper hands and a citron-like object in the right lower one. A playful child sits on her left leg. Māheśvarī carries a trident with her right hand while she holds the child on her lap by her left hand who is holding the Mother's necklace by his right hand. The mount bull is seated below. Indrāṇī has a thunderbolt in her right hand while she supports a playful child touching her necklace and breast by her left hand. She is accompanied by her mount, the elephant. Brahmāṇī is sitting on a big lotus placed on the back of a flying swan. She has only one head, and she carries a rosary of beads and a water jar (*pūrṇa-kumbha*) in her hands. The child on her lap is very realistically shown, holding a toy in his left hand. Kaumārī is having a *śakti* in her right hand. The playful child on her lap carries some object in his left hand. Vārāhī is, however, not precisely identified. The goddess seated in the European fashion is having a pot-belly. Her face is especially noteworthy as being somewhat terrific in appearance on account of her raised arch-like eyebrows, peculiar *tilaka* mark between the eyebrows and animal face. It is difficult to say as to which of animal's face was intended to be shown as it does not clearly represent a sow face. The goddess in the group has, however, been tentatively identified as being Vārāhī. Since the symbols of both the hands are mutilated along with the parts of knees, legs and belly, it is not certain if she carried a child by one of her hands. It is not unlikely that the small figure sitting

1. *Cat. of the Varendra Research Society*, p. 16, no. D(9) 1/7.

2. *Archl. Survey Report, Western Circle*, 1906-07, p. 33.

3. *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 101.

4. Agrawala, V.S., *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, pp. xi and 61.

5. Patna Museum Arch. Nos. 10815-21; cf. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 153-56, figs. 2-8.

in between her legs may be representing the child accompanying the Mātṛkā and not her *Nara-vāhana*; but, in that case, the mount of the goddess would be missing, though the human figure occupies the place usually meant for the mount. The figure is, however, vigorously modelled. Chāmuṇḍā, represented skeleton-like and terrific in appearance, is wearing a garland of human skulls. The four-armed goddess is holding a *khaḍga* in the lower right hand, a snake in the lower left hand, the severed human head in the upper left hand and an unidentified symbol partly mutilated in the upper right hand. On her left lap is a small child. An owl appears as her mount. Usually, Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa accompany the Sapta-Mātṛkās, but they are conspicuous by their absence in the present case. The sculptures of the Divine Mothers, though not carved in bold reliefs, are beautiful specimens of art showing minute details of modelling, expressions, ornaments and various hair styles. Stylistically these sculptures belong to the pre-Pāla period and may be dated in the 6th-7th century A.D.

The images of three of the Mātṛkās from near the Muktimandapa, now in the S.D.O.'s compound, at Jajpur¹ are highly remarkable. They are the colossi of Vārāhī,² Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā. The sow-faced Vārāhī is extremely terrific in appearance with hairs rising high on the forehead in cork screw curls. She is three-eyed. Seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, her front left hand supports a child on the left knee; other forearms being lost. She is also pot-bellied and has her buffalo mount beneath the couch. Though badly mutilated and bearing the head of a sow, this superb image impresses one with its serene dignity. Indrāṇī similarly seated is readily identifiable by her vehicle, the elephant, sculptured on the pedestal. She wears a high conical head-dress and elaborate ornaments. Her hands including the child are broken. Chāmuṇḍā is represented as a hideous skeleton of a decrepit old woman, all bones and skin, without flesh, seated in an easy posture, on a prostrate human being. She wears necklace of human skulls and ornaments of bones. The sculptor's attempt to indicate the extreme emaciation of the goddess is remarkably successful, though anatomically open to criticism. Though badly mutilated with all the four arms along with the attributes lost, the figure still faithfully reveals the character of the goddess as conceived by the Purāṇas.

The shrine on the Daśāśvamedhaghāt at Jajpur has the figures of Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Vaiṣṇavi, Kaumārī, Māheśvarī, and Chāmuṇḍā.³ All these images are four-armed, and each (excepting Chāmuṇḍā) has a plump pot-bellied child on the left knee supported by the lower left hand. Excepting Chāmuṇḍā, the lower right hand of each goddess is held against the breast in the *abhaya mudrā*. The two upper hands hold the appropriate weapons and attributes, and, the other distinguishing feature, the vehicle is carved on the base. In all these Mātṛkā images, the child is carved with

1. MASI-44, pp. 2 and 8; Kuraishi, M.M., *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*, pp. 226-28.

2. MASI-44, pl. I, fig. 1.

3. MASI-44, pp. 3 and 18.

wonderful skill. Chāmundā,¹ much similar to the preceding one, has her all the four arms intact. She is holding a sword in her upper right hand and supporting a staff by her upper left hand. In the front upraised right hand, she holds a bowl of skull and in the front left hand catches a severed head by its hair. In this specimen too, she is terrific in appearance, all bones, without flesh, having mouth wide open with protruding tongue and sunken eyes. Like the preceding one, she is seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on a human body.

The sacred Mārkaṇḍēśvara tank at Purī² has on its one side also the figures of five of the Mātṛkās. They are Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī and Indrāṇī. Like the Jajpur images, they are all four-armed, seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on a couch, with one of the legs pendent and the other tucked up on the seat. Their respective *vāhanas* have been carved below the couch. They are also found supporting a child on their left thighs by their front left hands; the front right hands wherever preserved show some hand poses—*vyākhyāna* or *abhaya*. The back hands of the figures display some of the appropriate weapons and attributes. Amongst them Brahmāṇī is four-faced and Vārāhī has the face of a sow. Adding to the terrific appearance of the latter are her two rows of curled locks of hair rising upwards, the *kapāla* in the back left hand and her tusk. All the goddesses save Brahmāṇī wear a number of ornaments.

The Vārendra Sāhitya Pariṣat Museum³ possesses a unique rectangular stone slab in the shape of a miniature shrine having carved in its centre a four-armed standing figure of Brahmāṇī flanked by a swan below her left hand and a lion below her right. This sculpture was found at Devagrām (Bengal). The Āśutosh Museum⁴ at Calcutta is in possession of a unique image of Vārāhī. Obtained from a village in the Hooghly district, she has a fish in one of her right hands—a feature rarely seen. According to Banerjea,⁵ 'the fish in one of the hands is unique, and perhaps indicates some Tāntric trait (fish, *matsya*, is one of the five *ma's*, i.e. *pañcha-makāras*)'.

Nārasimhī figure, hailing from Satna (M.P.), now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta,⁶ depicts her eight-armed (most of the arms gone), lioness-faced, seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on the back of a stylised lion. The goggle-eyed lioness face of the goddess and the face of the lion mount opened wide as it were for a mighty roar endow the composition with a grotesque character; the grotesqueness being partially relieved by the modelling of the main image. Another figure of Nārasimhī from Baḍasāi⁷ is also eight-armed, holding bell, sword and mace in three

1. *Ibid.*, pl. I, fig. 2; Banerjea, *DHI*, pl. XLIV.5.

2. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 505-06, pls. XLIII, 1, 3, 5 and XLIV, 3, 4.

3. *HBR*, I, p. 455.

4. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 506.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 506.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 508, pl. XLIV.2.

7. Vasu, N.N., *Archl. Survey of Mayurabhanja*, I, p. lxxii, fig. 32.

of her four right hands and showing *abhaya mudrā* by the remaining fourth, and carrying *vajra*, shield, and *pāśa* in three of her left hands and giving blessing by the fourth. What is of particular interest is that she has a figure of *Vārāhī* below her right hand and that of *Brahmāṇī* below her left hand.

Besides these, the Indian Museum at Calcutta¹ possesses a unique image representing the Śakti of Gaṇeśa. The goddess is elephant-headed, seated with a rat on the pedestal. The Patna Museum has a fine image² of Kārttikeyāṇī, the Śakti of Kārttikeya, found from Colgong in the district of Bhagalpur.

The Mātṛkās are thus usually seven in number as evidenced by the sculptural representations; but the artists do not seem to have adhered rigidly either to this number or to the nomenclatures of the goddesses. Composite figures have been found showing the Divine Mothers in the groups of two or three only or even in the groups of eight or nine, i.e., the number was elastic and it could be less or even more than the usual seven. Even the lists of the Mātṛkās do not seem to be stereotyped. As supported by the literary evidences so also the sculptures have not always the representations of the same groups of the Divine Mothers, what to speak of their being represented always in the same order. Wide divergence is noticed in these respects. For instance, Nārasimhī can be seen in some of the groups of the Divine Mothers, while in others she is conspicuous by her absence.

The Mātṛkā images seem to have followed various modes of representations and on this basis they resolve into several distinct classes. Earlier forms of the Mātṛkās in the Kuṣāṇa period are without any distinctive symbols and vehicles; they are rather shown standing or seated as ordinary female figures. They usually exhibit *abhaya mudrā* by their right hands, while the left hands either hold vessels (*kamaṇḍalu*) or are placed on the waists. They are flanked by two Āyudha-puruṣas, carrying long spear in their left hands and exhibiting *abhaya mudrā* by their right hands. Then certain changes are introduced even in the Kuṣāṇa period, i.e. the Mothers are associated with babies either seated in their laps or on their knees or standing nearby, emphasising their mother aspect. The two Āyudha-puruṣas continue to remain on either side of the Mātṛkās. Later on in the Gupta and the early mediaeval periods the Āyudha-puruṣas are replaced by the figures of Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra (or Vīreśvara), one of the forms of Lord Śiva himself. It is again in the Gupta period that the distinct attributes and the vehicles of the different Mātṛkās begin to appear; and consequently developed forms of the Mātṛkās are found in sculptural representations. Finally in more and highly elaborate and developed forms, Brahmāṇī is four-faced (her fourth face being not visible), Vārāhī is sow-faced and Nārasimhī is lioness-faced, exhibiting various weapons in their hands. Even some of the Mathurā reliefs represent some of the Mātṛkās animal-faced.

1. Indian Museum no. 3919.

2. Patna Museum Arch. no. 103.

Gopinatha Rao in his famous work on Hindu iconography has illustrated both composite and separate images of the Divine Mothers from Ellorā,¹ Belur² and Kumbakonam³ in south India. They are all developed forms of the Mātṛkās in which they hold their respective weapons. In the composite group of the Divine Mothers at Ellorā, the respective mounts are carved on the pedestal. They are haloed and flanked by the figures of Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra. The group of the Sapta-Mātṛkās, though highly ornamented in the Dharvada⁴ (Haveri) example, also shows similar features and identical vehicles, Gaṇeśa and Vireśvara flanking the Mātṛkās (Fig. 36). There are, however, no Sapta-Mātṛkā figures from south India corresponding to the earlier groups from the northern part of the country.

-
1. Rao, *EHI*, I, ii, pl. CXVIII, fig. 1.
 2. *Ibid*, pl. CXVIII, fig. 2.
 3. *Ibid.*, pl. CXIX.
 4. Cousens, H., *Chalukyan Architecture*, fig. 28.

JAMBHALA

BUDDHIST DEITIES

1. *Manusmṛiti*, II, 102; *Śāstrādhikāya*, II, 102, 103.2. *Manu*, II, 102.3. *Manu*, II, 102.4. *Manu*, II, 102.

JAMBHALA

JAMBHALA is the Buddhist god of wealth who had greater following and received worship in various forms. He may be regarded as a fitting counterpart of the Hindu Kubera, who like him is associated with wealth and treasure. Jambhala is undoubtedly of greater antiquity. Buddhist gods and goddesses are conceived of as having emanated from the one or the other of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. Uncertainty, however, prevailed regarding assigning Jambhala to any particular Dhyāni Buddha. The *sādhana*s mention of him having emanated either from Ratnasambhava or from Akṣobhya. Sculptural representations indicate him to be an emanation of Amitābha as well. In some of his aspects, he is also associated with all the five or four of the Dhyāni Buddhas with their effigies usually carved on the top part of the stela. It is, therefore, legitimate to suggest that Jambhala was certainly known long before the Dhyāni Buddhas ushered into existence, and, as such, it could not be possible to assign him to any particular Dhyāni Buddha.

On the authority of the various *sādhana*s in the *Sādhanamālā* devoted to the worship of the god, Bhattacharya¹ has described a number of varieties of Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth. As an emanation of Ratnasambhava,² he may be represented singly or in close embrace of his consort Prajñā Vasudhārā in *yab-yum*. In his emanation from Akṣobhya³ as well, he is to be shown in *yab-yum* with his consort.

When alone, Jambhala emanating from Ratnasambhava⁴ carries a citron (*mātuluṅga*) in his right hand and a mongoose (*nakulaka*) in the left. The mongoose is supposed to be the receptacle of all the gems and pearls, and when Jambhala presses the two sides of the mongoose, it vomits the treasure within. As pointed out by Foucher, its prototype is the purse made of the skin of the mongoose (*skr. nakulaka*) and therefore called '*nakulaka*'. It may be said in this connection that mongoose (*nakulaka*) is the natural foe of the Nāgas (serpents), regarded as the guardians of the jewels and the treasures lying under the earth. The mongoose (*nakulaka*) may, therefore, be conceived as having wrested the wealth from the possession

1. Bhattacharya, B.T., *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 237 ff and 178 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 237 f.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 178 f.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 237 f.

of the serpents. As the mongoose may be regarded as hiding the wealth in its stomach, so it may be presumed that the mongoose, the repository of wealth, has been given to the Buddhist god of wealth, in order to distinguish him from his Brahmanical counterpart, who has also a purse as one of his symbols. The word 'nakulaka' also means a kind of purse, in which sense it has probably been used in the *Divyāvadāna*.¹ (The *Divyāvadāna* is a famous Buddhist work and so also Jambhala is a popular Buddhist deity.) It is not improbable if the idea of a kind of purse conveyed by the word 'nakulaka' in the Buddhist work has been given a visual form and the Buddhist god of riches has been provided with a purse shaped like a mongoose. Thus Jambhala's 'nakulaka' is in reality the *nakulaka-redivivus*, and it is this *nakulaka* which is the characteristic feature of the deity, making it easy to identify his images. The other object in the hand of Jambhala is a citron (*mātuluṅga*). Kubera, the Brahmanical counterpart of Jambhala, is also conceived as *āsavapāyi* (drinking wine) and there are several sculptures, mostly in the Mathurā art, in which he has been shown holding a drinking cup in one of his hands and a female attendant standing nearby is found replenishing the content of the cup. 'Mātuluṅga' (the citron) in the hand of Jambhala may suggest the 'wine-drinking' character of the Buddhist god of wealth as well, as 'mātuluṅga' (the citron) is the juicy fruit from which a kind of liquor (*mātuluṅgāsava*) is being prepared. When single, Jambhala is of golden complexion, the colour of a ripe citron.

There is, however, another form of Jambhala² in which as well he is two-armed carrying citron and mongoose, but differing from the preceding one in that in this form he is to be shown trampling upon two semi-divine beings, Śaṅkhamuṇḍa and Padmamūṇḍa, apparently in the *ālīḍha* attitude. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,³ *śaṅkha* and *padma* have been included amongst the *nidhis* (treasures), over which Kubera, the Hindu god of wealth, presides. Śaṅkhamuṇḍa and Padmamūṇḍa may be regarded as the personification of the two *nidhis* and their having been trampled upon by the Buddhist god of wealth may suggest the latter to be the presiding deity of the two *nidhis* personified in this particular form of Jambhala.

Jambhala in *yab-yum* (again an emanation of Ratnasambhava)⁴ sits on the moon placed on an eight-petalled double lotus in close embrace of his consort Vasudhārā. The god of wealth is golden yellow in complexion, adorned with all sorts of ornaments and wearing a garland of yellow lotuses. He has a protruding belly and carries a citron and a mongoose vomiting pearls in his hands. The eight petals of the lotus seat are occupied by eight Yakṣas, quite identical with the principal one in all respects and seated in *yab-yum* with their respective Yakṣiṇis in like manner, the

1. Monier-Williams, M., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 524.

2. *Sādhana* no. 287 in *Sādhanamālā*, p. 564; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

3. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 68. 4.

4. *Sādhana* no. 284 in *Sādhanamālā*, pp. 560-61; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

latter being also identical in form with Vasudhārā, yellow in complexion and carrying ears of corn in the left and showing *varada-mudrā* by the right hands.

Jambhala in *yab-yum* (also an emanation of Ratnasambhava)¹ has yet another form in which he is three-faced and six-armed and white-coloured. According to the *sādhana*, his two faces to the right and to the left are red and blue respectively. He sits in the *vajraparyāṅka* attitude, embracing his consort Prajñā Vasudhārā with his two principal hands and carrying the red *vajra* and the sword in the remaining right and the emerald and the lotus in the remaining left hands.

Jambhala in *yab-yum*, emanating from Akṣobhya,² has also three faces and six arms. The *dhyāna*, however, does not mention the colour of the god, but he may be presumed to be blue in colour which is the colour of his sire, whose effigy is to be shown in his matted hair. In his three right hands he holds the citron, the goad and the arrow and with the first left he embraces his consort, and carries the mongoose tied round with a lasso and the arrow in the remaining left hands.

Numerous sculptural representations of Jambhala have been obtained from different parts of northern India; but he has very rarely been represented in *yab-yum* with his consort Prajñā Vasudhārā. The most popular form of Jambhala is that in which he is depicted quite alone by himself, usually seated, and characterised by a pot-belly and a mongoose vomiting jewels in one of his hands, the latter being a veritable living purse, substituted for a money-bag in the hand of Hindu Kubera. He is sometimes accompanied by his wife. But the Buddhist god of wealth as known from his representations in the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra³ does not bear the mongoose in his hand—the object which soon after or rather simultaneously became the most distinctive object of Jambhala in the Buddhist art of India. In the Lahore Museum⁴ is a sculpture representing Kubera. It presents a king sitting on a throne wearing a richly ornamented turban and having a pot belly; beside him is smaller figure, presumably of a Yakṣa. Further at his feet is the tribute bearer, who is emptying out a bag of gold. This sack with the gold rolling out is replaced in the figure of Jambhala, as referred to above, by an ichneumon or a mongoose (*nakulaka*).

In and around Mathurā,⁵ a large number of figures of Jambhala have been discovered, like those of Hindu Kubera. Figures of Hindu Kubera from Mathurā, besides being pot-bellied, generally show a purse and a wine cup in his hands. Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth, does not differ iconographically much from his Hindu counterpart in the Mathurā art. He retains almost all the features of a Hindu Kubera, with the only difference that the purse is replaced by a mongoose,

1. *Sādhana* no. 297 in *Sādhanamālā*, p. 581; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-39.

2. *Sādhana* no. 286 in *Sādhanamālā*, p. 564; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

3. Sometimes described as Pāñchika.

4. *Journal of Indian Art* etc., VIII, p. 37, pl. 14, 3; Grunwedel, A., *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 136-37.

5. Agrawala, V.S., *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 80 (no. c. 26).

which subsequently became the most important object of Jambhala's cognisance. According to the text, Jambhala should have a citron in his other hand; but the wine cup seen in the hand of Kubera continues to be carried by Jambhala also in the Mathurā art. Like, Hindu Kubera, he is also pot-bellied and appropriately ornamented. In some of the figures, he is accompanied by his wife Hārītī with a child nearby, sometimes holding a cornucopie in her hand, the symbol of fertility. Thus the sculpture obtained from Potra-kunḍa¹ represents a corpulent male and a female, the god of wealth along with the goddess of fertility, seated side by side, the former holding a mongoose and a cup in his hands and the latter carrying a lotus flower in her left hand, the right hand being raised to the shoulder. Another figure obtained from the Sitoha tank, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, also represents Jambhala with a mongoose and a wine cup in his hands and wearing appropriate ornaments.

Like a Hindu Kubera, Jambhala is also seen in the so-called Bacchanalian group in the Mathurā art. A statuette in the Mathurā art belonging to the Gupta period² depicts a corpulent figure squatting and holding a cup in his right hand and a mongoose in the left, his hair being arranged in short curls. He is attended by two females, partly defaced, standing on his either side behind his shoulders. One of them, to his right, seems to be holding a pitcher of wine. The figure is surrounded by a solid projection carved as a bowl.

Figures of Jambhala from other parts of the country bear, in accordance with the text, a mongoose and a citron in his hands, and sometimes the figure of his sire over his head-dress or on the topmost part of the stela. In association with the latter figures of the deity are also to be found a number of jars (of wealth), one of them upturned with the coins coming out of it. Thus the image of Jambhala found from Pabhosā³ in the Allahabad district represents the god seated on a thick ornamented cushion with the left leg tucked up and the right one hanging down and resting on one of the two treasure jars figured on the pedestal. He, however, holds a cup in the right hand, but a pearl vomiting mongoose in the left one. He is elaborately ornamented. The god is flanked by two attendants, one of whom brings a pot full of jewels and the other a couple of bags full of coins. The image is in a perfect state of preservation and represents a fine specimen of the mediaeval period.

Excavations at Nālandā have bequeathed a number of interesting figures of the god. One of the figures from Nālandā⁴ shows the god holding a citron in his right hand and a mongoose vomiting pearls in his left hand, seated on a pedestal resting on overturned vases of plenty with his right foot placed on a similar vase.

1. *JUPHS*, vols. XXIV-XXV, p. 124.

2. Agrawala, V.S., *op. cit.*, p. 78 (no. c. 4).

3. *JUPHS*, vol. VII, pt. ii, pp. 71-73, pl. 3.

4. *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pp. 280-81.

Vases out of which wealth is falling out are depicted on the either side of the halo. He is being attended by two female devotees standing on his either side. In the other figure,¹ Jambhala, holding a citron in his right hand placed on his knee and a mongoose out of whose mouth pearls are falling out in his left hand, is seated on a decorative cushion with his right foot resting on an overturned vase of plenty. A Nālandā bronze figure² in the Patna Museum is also characterised by the features like elaborate ornaments, pot-belly, citron, and purse in his hands.

The figure obtained from Ghāsīkuṇḍa and now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta³ deserves special mention amongst the best sculptures of the period. Bearing an inscription on its pedestal in the characters of the 11th-12th century A.D., the figure shows Jambhala seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose with his right pendent leg resting on a cushion with tassels. His right hand in the *varadamudrā* holds a citron on the right knee, while the left is holding mongoose on the left leg. The *karaṇḍa-mukuta* of the god bears the figure of Akṣobhya with pointed *uṣṇīṣa* in *bhūsparśa mudrā*. Tilted vases oversect the border of the slab. What is unusual is that on each side is the figure of the Dhyāni Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude.

A terracotta plaque from the Stupa Mound at Antichak, district Bhagalpur, Bihar, represents Jambhala, the Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical Kubera.⁴ Represented as a pot-bellied person, Jambhala is shown seated at ease in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose with a mongoose vomiting jewels (*nakulaka*), a veritable living purse (substituted for a money-bag in the hand of Kubera) in the left hand, while the right hand is damaged which usually held a citrus fruit (*mātuluṅga*). He has a small impressive conical crown over his head, besides a number of ornaments and a long heavy garland adorning his person. The well-nourished body, the sack of jewels and the various ornaments are all befitting the personality of the god of wealth (Fig. 37).

A miniature stone image of Jambhala in the Dacca Museum⁵ is also characterised by a big belly, a citron in the right hand and a mongoose in the left vomiting jewels. Reference may also be made here to another miniature stone image of the god from Paikapārā⁶ (Dacca) represented as an uncouth corpulent figure sitting in the *bhadrāsana* attitude. The attributes in the hands are too worn out to be recognised. What is of special interest is that it bears a short inscription on its back in the Bengali script of the 9th century A.D. : 'Jambhala Jal(endra) ya svāhā',

1. *Ibid.*

2. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, fig. 111; Ghosh, A., *A Guide to Nalanda*, pp. 27-28.

3. Banerji, R.D., *EISMS*, pp. 36 and 38, pl. XVI, c; Kramrisch, *Pala and Sena Art*, fig. 54; Bloch, T., *Suppl. Cat. of the Archl. Collection in I.M., Calcutta*, p. 61 (no. 4571).

4. *JBRs*, Vol. LVII, pp. 64-65, fig. 7.

5. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, pl. XI, a.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 35, pl. XI, b.

suggesting thereby that Jambhala as Buddhist god of wealth could be identified sometimes with Varuṇa, the lord of waters, as the term *jalandra* would seem to signify.¹

The bronze image of Jambhala from Chittagong² (Assam) has features like distended abdomen and the row of seven auspicious jars carved on the pedestal. Sitting in *lalitāsana*, with the right foot dangling, he holds some kind of fruit, probably a citron, in his right hand; the left, however, holds a toy-elephant not found elsewhere. The figure of Jambhala from Udayagiri³ (Orissa) is also pot-bellied, seated in *ardhaparyāṅka* and holding a citron in his right hand placed on the right knee, the left hand being placed on the left thigh is not carrying anything.

The National Museum, New Delhi, possesses a rounded stela of the Pāla period datable in c. 10th-11th century A.D., which represents Jambhala seated in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on a lotus seat with his right leg pendent and resting on another miniature lotus. The well-nourished bodied god is carrying a mongoose in his right hand; while his left hand is resting over a vessel placed on his left thigh from which a garland of gems (*maṇi-mālā*) appears to be dropping. The god is putting on an elaborate crown and a number of ornaments befitting him as the lord of riches. Two of the *nidhis*, *Padma* and *Śaṅkha*, are carved on the either side of his head⁴ (Fig. 38).

The figures of Jambhala discussed above have all been rendered two-armed. A four-armed variety of the god is also known from Nālandā,⁵ in which the god is shown seated in *lalitāsana*, with the right hands holding a pot and a sword and the left ones a flower and a mongoose. The right foot of the god rests on overturned vases.

In another sculptural representation, again from Nālandā,⁶ a scene suggesting a conference of Jambhala has been depicted. Jambhala is shown seated in the middle of a circular lotus, with eight similar figures seated round him.

According to the *sādhana*s, Jambhala has a fierce or terrific form also, known as Uchchhuṣma Jambhala, also called Dimbha. Uchchhuṣma Jambhala, being a variety of Jambhala, bears an image of Akṣobhya or Ratnasambhava on his crown. Several *sādhana*s have been devoted to the worship of this form of Jambhala. As an emanation of Akṣobhya,⁷ he is described as a god having the appearance of a child of five years and is dwarfish. Standing on a double lotus on the moon, he is decked

1. *Ibid.*, p. 35, pl. XI, c.

2. ASIAR, 1921-22, p. 83.

3. MASI-44, p. 11, pl. IV. 1.

4. National Museum No. 62.3001.

5. Ghosh, A., *A Guide to Nalanda*, pp. 27-28 (no. 1-205).

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28 (no. 1-641).

7. *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 577; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

with ornaments formed of snakes and has a jewelled head-dress. He stands in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude and presses the forehead of the sleeping Dhanada of yellow colour vomiting out jewels by his right leg and resting his left leg on his feet. He is nude and his membrum virile is pointed upwards. He has a protruding belly and his eyes fixed on the *kapāla* full of blood which he carries in his right hand against his chest. In the left hand, he holds the mongoose vomiting out jewels on his left thigh. His ears are large and unpierced and he has a crescent on his crown. His face is distorted with bare fangs and his three eyes are red and round. His brows are distorted and his brown hair rising upwards. On his crown, he bears the image of the blue-coloured Akṣobhya in the *bhūsparśa-mudrā*.

Uchchhuṣma Jambhala emanating from Ratnasambhava¹ has also an identical form. Here also he is terrible to behold with protruding belly, bare fangs, and snake-ornaments, trampling upon Kubera (Dhanada) and holding a *kapāla* full of blood in the right hand at which he gazes intently with his three eyes. He has a mongoose in the left hand.

Uchchhuṣma Jambhala is rarely represented and his images are unknown, excepting the one at Sarnath.² This unique image possesses all the characteristic features of the god as obtained from the *sādhana*s. The sculpture represents Uchchhuṣma Jambhala standing with his female counterpart Vasudhārā, the goddess of abundance and fertility, by his side, carved in alto-relievo. Uchchhuṣma is dwarfish with a protruding abdomen (*lambodara*) and stands in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude of Dhanada lying full length on a lotus and wearing a high diadem and ornaments. The figure though nude wears ornaments of snakes and a bejewelled head-dress with a Dhyāni Buddha surrounded by a flaming halo of oval shape. From his mouth protrude two fangs. The right hand holds a *kapāla* against the breast. The left hand with the mongoose is missing. The female figure is lavishly decked with ornaments. Her both the hands are missing. Between the two is a lotus, while below are two kneeling figures and above a celestial being carrying a garland. Beneath the goddess is carved a pair of *ratnagaṭas* (jars of wealth), a symbol of abundance over which she presides. The pedestal contains an inscription in the characters of the 11th century A.D. The *sādhana* mentions this terrific type of Jambhala as originating either from Akṣobhya or from Ratnasambhava; but curiously enough the effigy of none of the two Dhyāni Buddhas can be seen on his head-dress. It is Amitābha who finds the place there. Nevertheless, this is the only known image of Uchchhuṣma Jambhala.

Jambhala has thus been represented in varieties of ways. In the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra, doubtfully identified as the Buddhist god of wealth, he has been

1. *Sādhana* no. 294 in *Sādhanamālā*, pp. 574-75; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

2. Sahni, D.R., *Cat. of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, pp. 135, pl. XV, a; Majumdar, B., *Guide to Sarnath*, p. 64, pl. XIV, a; Agrawala, V.S., *Sarnath*, p. 26, pl. X.B.

represented as a king having a well-nourished body, moustached and heavily ornamented. His connection with wealth is indicated by means of a miniature figure of a tribute bearer who empties out a sack of gold. In the Mathurā art, he appears as Hindu Kubera, pot-bellied and holding a wine cup in one of his hands. He, however, carries the mongoose in the other hand, replacing the purse of Kubera, which soon became Jambhala's most distinctive symbol. His other important object, the citron, is yet to be shown. In certain varieties, he is shown with his wife, standing or seated. In the Mathurā art, like the Hindu Kubera, he is also represented in the Bacchanalian group, pot-bellied, mongoose in one hand and wine cup in the other, which a female attendant fills from a flask in her hand. Subsequently, Jambhala assumes his full iconographic significance. In accordance with the text, he carries the citron (not seen earlier) and the mongoose, which when pressed by the god vomits streaks of jewels. He continues to be pot-bellied and richly decorated with various ornaments. Sometimes, he bears the figure of the Dhyāni Buddha in his head-dress or on the upper part of the stela. Generally in the early and the late mediaeval sculptures, besides carrying his usual symbols, Jambhala, like the Hindu Kubera, is shown in association of a number of vases (*ratna-ghaṭas*), one or more of them being overturned, with the wealth coming out of them. A four-armed variety of the god, rarely represented, is also known from Nālandā. A unique representation, again from Nālandā, depicts him in conference of eight similar figures seated round him. In his most terrific form, though very rarely represented, he appears as Uchchhuṣṭa Jambhala in one of the sculptures from Sarnath, trampling Dhanada, the Hindu god of wealth, obviously humiliating his Brahmanical counterpart.

TRAILOKYA-VIJAYA

TRAILOKYA-VIJAYA¹ is another interesting Buddhist deity which indicates on the part of the Buddhists to establish the superiority of their deities over those of the Hindus. According to the *sādhana* in the *Sāghanamālā*,² Trailokya-vijaya Bhaṭṭāraka should be conceived as of blue colour, with four faces and eight arms; his first face expressing amorous fury; that at the right, anger; that at the left, disgust; and the face at the back, heroism. With his two main hands holding the bell (*ghaṇṭā*) and the thunderbolt (*vajra*), he makes against his chest the gesture what is called as *vajra-huṅkāra*. His three hands at the right hold a *khaṭvāṅga*, an elephant goad and an arrow, and the hands at the left carry a bow, a noose and a thunderbolt. He stands in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude stepping to the right on the breasts of Pārvaṭī (Gaurī) and with the left foot treading on the head of Śiva (Maheśvara). He wears garments of variegated colours and many ornaments including a garland made of little images of the Buddha.

A very interesting bronze image of Trailokya-vijaya from Kurkihar, assigned to c. 8th century A.D., now preserved in the Patna Museum,³ represents the god standing in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude with his two main hands clasped against his chest in the gesture of *vajra-huṅkāra*, suggestive of extreme anger and determination. He is shown trampling under his feet the prostrate figures of Śiva and Pārvaṭī, who are holding tridents in their hands. The god wears also a garland of miniature figures of the Buddha. In this specimen the artist has succeeded considerably in representing the ferocity and the destructive action of the god by showing the Hindu divinities being pressed under his feet (Fig. 39).

A life-size stone image of Trailokya-vijaya from Nālandā⁴ which shows only its lower portion (the upper portion being unfortunately lost) resembles consider-

1. *Trai* (*tr*, three), *loka* (*loka*, world), *vijaya* (conqueror)—Conqueror of the Three Worlds—symbolising Buddhism destroying its enemies.

2. *Sāghanamālā*, p. 511.

3. *ASIAR*, 1930-34, p. 274, pl. CXXXV, a; *ASIAR*, 1935-36, p. 128, pl. XXXVII, d; Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, p. 135, fig. 116.

4. Kuraishi, M.M., *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*, pp. 84-85, fig. 54.

ably the bronze image just described. It depicts a large figure standing in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude, casting a thunderbolt held in the right hand and trampling under his feet the figures of a male and a female holding thunderbolt and trident in their hands, evidently being the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī trampled down under the feet of the god. A garland of small images of the Buddha can also be seen worn by the deity. A noose (*pāśa*) is represented in the left field and the entire background is carved with lines representing the flames of fire. The terrific little figures wearing *akṣamālā* and armed with clubs and shields are portrayed running forward to deal blows at each of the victims. Another elaborately executed figure of the deity from Nālandā also shows these features agreeing with the *dhyāna*.¹

There is still another stone image of Trailokya-vijaya from Nālandā in the Nālandā Museum,² well executed and in excellent state of preservation, but differing in certain respects from the preceding examples. The deity is four-armed trampling on the prostrate figure of Śiva holding his usual attributes. His two frontal hands are held against the chest in the attitude showing extreme anger. The right upper hand holds a thunderbolt, while the object held in the corresponding left one is indistinct. The back-slab is entirely carved with lines indicating flames. This image is slightly different from the figures of the god already described and from the *dhyāna* in the *Sādhana-mālā*, in as much as this image is one-faced instead of being four-faced, has only four and not eight arms, and is trampling the Hindu god Śiva only under his feet, instead of pressing down both Śiva and Pārvatī. The figure, however, represents the deity standing in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude and his main hands held in the *vajra-huṅkāra mudrā* against the chest, as seen in the earlier examples and prescribed in the text.

The Trailokya-vijaya image in the monastery of the Mahantha of Bodhgayā, noticed by Foucher,³ corresponds to the textual description in every particular, excepting the minor detail of the bow and the arrow held in different hands and the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī being represented in actual coitus⁴ (Fig. 40).

R.D. Banerji has noticed a unique bronze image from Pātharghāṭa in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar, now in the Indian Museum collection,⁵ having four heads and twelve arms, which bears some affinity to the Trailokya-vijaya images but also shows certain features of another Buddhist god, Mahākāla. The image stands in the *ālīḍha* attitude on the breasts of a male and a female prostrate figure. The points of resemblance with the Trailokya-vijaya images are that (i) it shows

1. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

2. *ASIAR*, 1930-34, p. 278, pl. CXLI, 15.

3. Foucher, A., *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique*, 2me partie, fig. 4.

4. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 115.

5. Banerji, *EISMS*, p. 93, pl. XXXVII, c (IM. 4552).

vajrahuṅkāra-mudrā, (ii) holds a *pāśa* in one left hand, and (iii) tramples upon a male and a female figure lying prostrate, and the points of difference are that (a) it stands in the *ālīḍha* attitude and not in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude, (b) holds a *khaṭvāṅga*, a battle-axe and a *paraśu*, being not the attributes of Trailokya-vijaya, and (c) bears the garland of human skulls and not a garland of the Buddha figures as required by the text.

APARĀJITĀ

APARĀJITĀ is a very interesting goddess of the Buddhists, illustrating characteristically the familiar theme of religious clashes in which a Buddhist deity is given an upper hand over the Hindu divinities. A short *sādhana*¹ in the *Sāadhanamālā* devoted to her worship describes her form, according to which Aparājītā is yellow in complexion, has two arms and one face, is decked in various gems, and tramples upon Gaṇeśa (*Gaṇapatiśamākrāntā*), with her right hand raised in the act of delivering a slap (*chapetadāna*), while the left carries the noose round the raised index finger against her chest. Her face is awful, terrible and ferocious. She is conceived as the destroyer of all wicked beings and her parasol is said to be raised over her head by the host of wicked gods, Brahmā and others.

Thus amongst the important points to be noted in connection with the images of this Buddhist goddess are (i) that Gaṇeśa is trampled upon by her (the epithet *Gaṇapatiśamākrāntā* being peculiar to her), (ii) that her right hand is raised in the act of delivering a slap (*chapetadāna*), and (iii) that she is attended upon and her parasol held aloft by the Hindu gods like Brahmā, Indra and others. Such a description of Aparājītā is reminiscent of religious bickerings between the Hindus and the Buddhists, and Aparājītā characteristically represents one of those Buddhist deities who is to be shown as humiliating the Hindu gods like Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Indra and others.

In the *sādhana*, Aparājītā is not assigned to any Dhyāni Buddha, nor she has been found bearing the figure of her sire upon her crown in the images. It is, therefore, not possible to regard her as having emanated from any of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. As pointed out by Bhattacharya,² it would be erroneous to attribute her to any of the Dhyāni Buddhas on the basis of her colour. In this connection it may be mentioned that Jāṅgulī, another Buddhist goddess, who is an emanation of Akṣobhya, has her three varieties of three different colours, but none of them is of blue colour, which is the colour of Akṣobhya. Had the crest of the Dhyāni Buddha been

1. *Sāadhanamālā*, p. 403.

2. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*

not mentioned in the *sādhana*, one would have certainly been mistaken by assigning her three varieties on the basis of colours to three different Dhyaṇi Buddhas, excepting her own sire, Akṣobhya.

Aparājītā figures also in the *dhyāna* for Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā as the one associated with the latter, wherein she is said to bear the image of Ratnasambhava on her crown and she is made to carry in her four arms the staff, the goad, the bull and the noose.¹ It may, however, be noted that this Aparājītā (with which we are concerned in the present topic) has nothing to do with the Aparājītā mentioned in the *dhyāna* for Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā. The reason is not far to seek as to why this Aparājītā is not regarded as an emanation of Ratnasambhava : the two Aparājītās resemble only in colour and have nothing else in common.

The Nālandā fragment discovered by Spooner² showing only its lower half (the upper half being unfortunately lost) represents the lower portion of some goddess in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, stepping out towards the right with the proper left knee advanced and the left foot trampling upon a prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed Hindu god of wisdom. It is on the strength of the very distinctive epithet '*Gaṇapatisamākṛāntā*' that the figure has been identified to be that of the Buddhist goddess Aparājītā. The figure to the proper right of the principal goddess appears to be Indra and the rod held by him seems to be the handle of the parasol required to be held over the head of the goddess by the gods beginning with Brahmā. Had it been complete, as remarked by Bhattacharya,³ it would have been possible to find the *chapetadāna-mudrā* in the right hand of the goddess and the noose with the raised index-finger in the left, and a parasol over her head in continuation of the broken handle.

This identification is further confirmed when compared to a traditional drawing of Aparājītā, secured from the native painters of Nepal. Again, there is another image of Aparājītā, an interesting creation of later day Buddhism, slightly mutilated but complete, in the Patna Museum,⁴ which resembles the Nālandā fragment in the lower portion, and the whole image exactly follows the directions as given in the text, in which the goddess is being depicted as trampling upon Gaṇeśa under one of her feet, while one of her hands is raised, as it were, in the act of delivering a slap (*chapetadāna*). Gaṇeśa, with both his hands on his legs, has been shown lying down and his right foot is being pressed under the left foot of the goddess. Stylistically, the image is more life-like and the angry mood of the goddess is quite apparent from her hand in the *chapetadāna-mudrā* (Fig. 41).

1. *Sādhana*, p. 352.

2. *ASIAR*, 1917-18, pl. XIV, b; Ghosh, A., *A Guide to Nalanda*, p. 31.

3. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 246, fig. 189.

4. *Ibid.*, fig. 190; Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40, fig. 125.

A stone image from Ratnagiri¹ represents a goddess seated on a couch with her right leg tucked up on the seat and the left one hanging down and placed over the head of an elephant-headed figure shown crouching beneath the seat. She has her right hand lifted up in the attitude of delivering a slap, while her left hand is raised against her breast with some object, probably a noose. The figure may be identified with Aparājītā, as the elephant-headed figure is evidently that of Gaṇeśa, who, according to the *Sādhana*, is to be trampled upon by the Buddhist goddess Aparājītā. Other details are, however, lacking as there is no attendant, the Brahmagical deity, holding parasol over her head,

Āparājītā is a female deity of the Mahāyāna sect from a iconographically of Buddhist origin. She is depicted as trampling down under her feet the heads of her enemies, who are the heads of the gods of the world. The origin of the deity is said to be the result of the Buddhist deity, a common feature in the Mahāyāna sect. It is well known that through the image of *Āparājītā*, the deity is a manifestation of all powers and attributes, and her iconography is practically the same as that of the Buddhist deity, which becomes quite apparent from the descriptions of the goddess given in the *Sādhanā*.

According to the *Sādhanā* in the Mahāyāna sect, which describes her as an incarnation of *Āparājītā*, she is of yellow colour, with three faces, three eyes and six arms. The right and left faces are of blue and white colour, respectively. She carries in her three right hands a vajra, a mace and a sword, and in her left hand a lotus, a mirror and a noose. Her face is adorned with flowers, and she is adorned with a crown of lotus. She has the effulgence of the sun as her aureole. She is depicted as trampling down under her feet the heads of her enemies. The goddess is shown with the decorated lotus of the left hand, with the sword against the chest and strikes her right leg at the feet of the victim.

Another *Sādhanā* which mentions the goddess as an incarnation of *Āparājītā*, describes her as one who has a green complexion, three faces, three eyes and six arms. The right and left faces are of blue and white colour, respectively. She carries in her three right hands a vajra, a mace and a sword, and in her left hand a lotus, a mirror and a noose. Her face is adorned with flowers. She is in the prime of her youth, decked in tiger-skin and a garland of leaves, having slightly protruding belly and the hair tied up above. She tramples under her feet

1. *Ind. Arch.*, 1957-58, p. 41, pl. LV. D.

PARNAŚABARĪ

PARNAŚABARĪ, a female deity of the Mahāyāna pantheon, is iconographically of great significance. She is also depicted as trampling down under her feet the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, originally the Hindu deity of obstacles. The defeat of the Hindu gods at the hands of the Buddhist deities, a common feature in the later Mahāyāna images, is well exemplified through the images of Parnaśabarī. She is both an emanation of Akṣobhya and Amoghasiddhi, and her iconography is practically the same in her both the aspects, save minor differences, which becomes quite apparent from the descriptions of the goddess given in the *dhyānas*.

According to a *sādhana* in the *Sāadhanamālā*,¹ which describes her as an emanation of Akṣobhya, she is of yellow colour, with three faces, three eyes, and six arms; her principal face being blue, that at the right white and the remaining at the left red. She smiles in a pleasing manner and is decked in all sorts of ornaments, bears a garment of leaves, is arrogant in her youthful bloom, is stout in appearance and carries *vajra*, *paraśu* and arrow in her right hands and *tarjanī* with the noose, cluster of leaves and bow in the left hands. Her *jaṭāmukūṭa*, decorated with flowers, displays the image of Akṣobhya. She has the effulgence of the sun as her aureole, stands in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude on the moon over the white lotus, trampling under her feet the *vighnas*. She threatens the host of other *vighnas* with the clenched fist of the left hand, exhibiting the *tarjanī* against the chest and shakes her right fist at the host of the *vighnas*.

Another *dhyāna*,² which mentions the goddess as an emanation of Amoghasiddhi, describes her as one who has a green complexion, three faces, three eyes and six arms. Her right and left faces are of blue and white colours respectively. She carries in her three right hands *vajra*, *paraśu* and arrow, and in her left hands bow, cluster of leaves and *tarjanī-pāśa*. Her faces show an angry laugh. She is in the prime of her youth, decked in tiger-skin and a garland of leaves, having slightly protruding belly and the hair tied up above. She tramples under her feet

1. *Sāadhanamālā*, pp. 306-07; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-97.

2. *Sāadhanamālā*, p. 308; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-33.

various diseases and pestilences, and bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown.

Thus, both the *sādhana*s describe the goddess more or less in an identical manner, with certain variations, such as the goddess emanating from Akṣobhya having a pleasant smile on her face, while the goddess emanating from Amoghasiddhi showing an angry laugh upon her face. She is also to be represented with a corpulent belly.

In the *mantra* she has been described as a *Paiśācī* (ogress) and *sarvamāri-praśamanī* (healer of all epidemic diseases). This may explain the reason why she is to be shown as trampling down personified representations of diseases or pestilences or obstacles personified by Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed Hindu deity of wisdom, who was originally the deity of obstacles. There is, however, nothing in the text to suggest that the personified obstacles (*vighnas*) should have the face of the Hindu deity Gaṇeśa, though he is actually found below the goddess in sculptural representations. She is specially interesting on account of the apron of leaves that she wears,¹ which, according to Grunwedel,² shows that she was worshipped by the aboriginal tribes of India. She is also named as '*sarvaśavarāṇām bhagavatī*' or goddess of all the Śavaras.³ Her name, the leaf garment, and the characteristic epithet *paiśācī* applied to her distinctly indicate her association with the leaf-clad Śavara tribe—proving her to have been recruited from some non-Aryan cult.

Images of Parṇaśabarī are, however, extremely rare in Indian art. The much mutilated image in the Indian Museum at Calcutta,⁴ having three faces and six arms, depicts the goddess standing in the *ālīḍha* attitude with the right leg stretched and the left bent and pressing down under the left foot the corpulent belly of Gaṇeśa with the elephant trunk turned towards the left and face hidden under the foot of the deity. In the three right hands, as required by the text, she carries the thunderbolt, the arrow and the axe, while she holds the bow in the second left hand and in the third left hand held against her breast there is the noose with the raised index finger. The top left hand is broken, which must have shown the cluster of leaves, one of her important attributes. Towards the right of the goddess, on the same pedestal, there is the figure of a female attendant holding a rod, presumably the handle of the parasol which is certainly destroyed along with the upper part of the sculpture. The upper portion of the back-slab including the crown of the goddess having considerably damaged, the figure of her sire is also lost; but the fact that the goddess has no flabby belly, rather she is slender bodied,

1. Getty, A., *op. cit.*, p. 134.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

4. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 197, fig. 140; Sinha. B.P., *op. cit.*, p. 140; *Sādhana-mālā*, II, pl. XVI.

with her different limbs in better proportions, may suggest her to be an emanation of Akṣobhya, whose figure would certainly have been seen, had the crown of the goddess remained intact.

Other two figures of Pārṇasabārī, both in excellent state of preservation, found in East Bengal (now Bangladesh), showing identical features in every respect from iconographical points of view, closely follow the textual descriptions of the goddess. Both the images bear the miniature figures of the Dhyāni Buddha on the top section of the *prabhāvali* with that of Amoghasiddhi just above the head of the Dhyāni Buddhas, emphasising thereby that the goddess so represented in these examples is an emanation of the Dhyāni Buddha Amoghasiddhi. Both the images being quite identical, it would be sufficient to describe any one of them. The image from Vikrampur¹ shows the goddess with three faces and six arms. She carries thunderbolt, arrow and hatchet in her right hands and in two of the left hands she holds a small branch with leaves and a bow; but the third hand is raised against the chest in *tarjanī-mudrā* without the lasso. The girdle of leaves restraining the tiger-skin is prominently depicted. The goddess is further shown slightly pot-bellied with her hair rising upward. The artist has acquitted himself admirably well in depicting the expression of angry smile on her faces. She is shown treading upon two prostrate figures, symbolising diseases and pestilences. The figure under the right leg, as remarked by Bhattacharya, is apparently that of a man attacked with small-pox as it shows certain circular marks over the body; and the other under the left foot is probably attacked with some fatal diseases. In this example, the figure of the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa appears below the lotus seat instead of being directly under the feet of the goddess as in the Indian Museum image. Gaṇeśa is represented prostrate at the bottom with a shield and a sword in hand, evidently vanquished after a fight with the goddess. The Brahmanical god Hayagrīva (having the head of a horse) is depicted to the right of the goddess in a threatening attitude, while Śītālā, the Brahmanical goddess of epidemics, with a broom-stick in the right hand and the winnowing basket (*kulya*) in the left, is departing to the left mounting on the back of her vehicle, the donkey. The prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa at the bottom, the flight of Śītālā and the threatening attitude of Hayagrīva, all appear to point to the suppression of the worship of these Brahmanical deities of diseases and obstacles by the introduction of that of Pārṇasabārī. The second figure from Vajrayogini² (Dacca district) is exactly similar in all respects to the one just described. The two figures from East Bengal show certain discrepancies from the Indian Museum image in as much as (i) Gaṇeśa in the former is below the lotus seat; but he is directly under the feet of the goddess in the Indian Museum example; (ii) the figures of the prostrate beings personifying diseases and pestilences are absent in

1. *ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 115; *ibid.*, 1923-24, p. 76, pl. XXX, b; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 61, pl. XXIII, b; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 223, fig. 173; *Sādhana-mālā*, II, pl. XVII.
2. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, pl. XXIII, a; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 233, fig. 174; *HBR*, I, p. 474, pl. XXVII, 67.

the Indian Museum image and (iii) instead of the female attendant holding the parasol in the Indian Museum image, two Hindu deities, Hayagrīva and Śītalā, are depicted flying away to different directions.

R D. Banerji, however, notices a three-faced and eight-armed mutilated image of a goddess seated on a lotus with the prostrate figure of a male having an elephant's head (i.e. Gaṇeśa) carved on the pedestal, in the collection of the Sāhitya Pariṣat at Dacca, indicating the figure to be that of Parṇasabārī.¹ The upper left portion of the back-slab being broken, objects held in most of her hands are lost; but still the sword and the trident in the right hands and the noose and the thunderbolt in the left hands are distinguishable. The figure, however, does not correspond to the *dhyāna* as given in the *Sādhanamālā*, the only cognisance of the goddess being her three heads and the figure of prostrate Gaṇeśa below her lotus seat. The goddess neither stands in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude (for she is shown seated on a full-blown lotus seat) nor she is six-armed, nor even she has the weapons in her hands agreeing with the textual descriptions.

The bronze statuette from Kurkihar, presently housed in the Patna Museum, also represents the goddess seated on a lotus throne placed over a rectangular pedestal in *mahārājājalilā* pose, with her right leg pendent and resting over the head of a miniature figure of Gaṇeśa. The four-armed goddess holds *vajra* in her upper right hand and *pāśa* in her upper left hand. Her lower right hand is held in *varadamudrā* resting on her knee with some object on her palm, while her lower left hand, which is pendent, is also placed on the knee leaning against the stalk of a plant issuing from the lotus seat. The goddess has wide open eyes and angry countenance. She puts on a broad triangular chignon. There is a massive oval *śiṛṣachakra* behind her head. A devotee in *añjalī-mudrā* is seen seated on the pedestal to her proper left² (Fig. 42).

1. Banerji, R.D., *EISMS*, pp. 92-93, pl. XLI, b.

2. *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. CXLIX.7.

MĀRĪCHĪ

MĀRĪCHĪ is a very popular goddess of the Buddhists who seems to have been incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon from the Brahmanic Sūrya with certain suitable modifications. Like Sūrya, Mārīchī has also a chariot, but drawn not by seven horses, rather by seven pigs apparently inspired from Sūrya's seven horses. As the charioteer of Sūrya is legless, so also is Mārīchī's charioteer; but Aruṇa's place has been taken over by a female, or sometimes by Rāhu, having only a head without body. Mārīchī's connection with Sūrya is also indicated from the fact that the Lāmās invoke the goddess every morning about the time of sun-rise¹ (Fig. 43).

No less than sixteen *sādhanas* have been devoted to her which describe her six different forms, having one, three, five or six faces and two, eight, ten or even twelve arms. Generally accompanied by four attendant goddesses, Varttālī, Vadālī, Varālī and Varāhamukhī, she is immediately recognised by her sow-face and by the seven pigs employed for drawing her chariot. The needle and the string are her characteristic emblems from which she is believed to sew up the mouths and the eyes of the wicked. Images of Mārīchī are rather common in India. In her two-armed form of Aśoka-kāntā,² she accompanies Khadirvanī Tārā of green colour. According to Getty,³ Mārīchī accompanying the green Tārā is seated on a lotus throne, which may be supported by a pig, yellow in colour, and her legs are locked or the right leg is pendent. She has also the third eye. Ordinarily Mārīchī is one-faced and two-armed; but when she holds the bough of an *aśoka* tree in the left hand, she is called Aśoka-kāntā.⁴ Her right hand is generally in the *varada mudrā*, but may also be in the argument *mudrā* or holding the *vajra* or flywhisk. She may, however, be seated on the pig with the right hand in the *varada* and the left in the *vitarka mudrā*.⁵ She has the image of Vairocana on her crown and is decorated

1. Getty, A., *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 133 :— "Mārīchī is evidently the goddess Aurora of the Aryans, for the *sādhanas* refer to her as riding in her chariot surrounded by a glory of flame-shaped rays."

2. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 207.

3. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

4. *Sādhnamālā*, p. 306; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

5. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

with bright jewels and wears white garments and grants assurance of safety to the world.¹

But she is known as Ārya Mārīchī² when she carries the needle and the string in her two hands. Otherwise she is quite identical with Aśoka kāntā in all other respects. She can be distinguished only by the objects held in her hands.

Mārīchīpichuvā, also known as Aṣṭabhujapīta Mārīchī or Saṃkṣipta-Mārīchī, is another important form of the goddess. These two names evidently denote two distinct varieties of Mārīchī, but both of them have three faces, eight arms, and carry similar weapons in their hands. The *sādhana* devoted to Mārīchīpichuvā does not mention if she is to be accompanied by the usual four attendant goddesses. She holds needle and string, *aṅkuṣa* and *pāśa*, bow and arrow, and *vajra* and *aśoka* flower in the four pairs of her hands. She has three faces, each with three eyes, and she tramples under her feet Prajñā and Upāya.³

Aṣṭabhujapīta or Saṃkṣipta Mārīchī is the most popular form of the goddess. She has also three eyes, with the third eye on each of them. Her left face is distorted sow-like, looking terrible with bare fangs and protruding lips. Vairocana is in her crown. She stands in the *ālīḍha* attitude on a chariot drawn by seven pigs and appears as a virgin in the fullness of her youth. Below the pigs is the fierce Rāhu devouring the sun and the moon.⁴ She is also surrounded by the four attendant goddesses, Varttālī, Vadālī, Varālī and Varāhamukhī.⁵ It is very curious that practically all the images of Mārīchī, with a few exceptions, belong to this variety. In sculptures, sometimes, a lady charioteer, instead of Rāhu, may be seen. Sometimes images retain both the lady charioteer as well as Rāhu.⁶

The fourth form of the goddess is known as Ubhayavarāhānana Mārīchī as her two faces on the two sides are both distorted sow-like. Red-complexioned, clad in tiger skin, having a jewelled head-dress, a red scarf and decked in all sorts of ornaments, she stands in the *ālīḍha* attitude and has three faces, each with three eyes and twelve arms. In her six left hands, she shows *tarjanī* against the breast,

1. *Sāadhanamālā*, p. 306; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
2. *Sādhana* no. 147 in *Sāadhanamālā*, p. 305.
3. *Sāadhanamālā*, pp. 297-98; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11.
4. *Sāadhanamālā*, pp. 297-98; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11.
5. All the four attendant goddesses are four-armed.

	Complexion	Rt. hands	Lt. hands
Varttālī	Red	Vajrāṅkuṣa Needle	Pāśa Aśoka
Vadālī	Yellow	Aśoka Needle	Pāśa Vajra
Varālī	Yellow	Vajra Needle	Pāśa Aśoka
Varāhamukhī	Ruddy	Vajra Arrow	Aśoka Bow

6. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11.

aśoka bough, *vajraṅkuśa*, *kapāla*, head of Brahmā and a vessel and in the six right hands needle, *aṅkuśa*, *bhīṇḍipāla* (spear), sword, *karṭṭ* and the staff stamped with a *vajra*. She bears the image of Vairochana on her crown and tramples under her feet the Hindu gods, Hari (Viṣṇu), Hara (Śiva) and Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā) and others. The guardians of all the quarters including other deities pay homage to this goddess.¹ The *sādhana* is, however, reticent about the chariot, the seven pigs that drag it, and the four attendant goddesses.

Daśabhujaśita Mārīchī, the fifth form of the goddess, is one of her white variations. The most important and interesting feature of this ten-armed goddess is that she has four legs. She has five faces, the principal one being white in colour, and her left face as usual distorted sow-like. The five right hands of the goddess hold the sun, blue *vajra*, arrow, goad and needle, while the five left hands carry the moon, bow, *aśoka* bough, noose with *tarjanī* and string. She also rides a chariot drawn by seven pigs and tramples under her feet the four Hindu gods, Indra, Brahmā Viṣṇu and Śiva. The effigy of Vairochana is in her crown.² Besides she is to be accompanied by three other goddesses, whose individual names are not given in the *sādhana*; they might be belonging to the members of the Varttālī group.³ One of the attendant goddesses is blue in colour, rides upon a *makara* and her face is sow-like. She carries the *vajra* and the *tarjanī-pāśa* in her hands. The other, to the right of Mārīchī, is ruddy in colour, with her one face mis-shapen sow-like. And the third attendant goddess, to the left of Mārīchī, is of red complexion, with one face mis-shapen sow-like and having four arms, the two principal arms engaged in drawing the bow charged with an arrow and the remaining ones carrying the *vajra* and the *aśoka* bough. Below are the figures of the seven pigs drawing the chariot, the Navagrahas, and various diseases and disasters in human shape lying flat on the ground.

When six-faced and twelve-armed, Mārīchī is invoked in three different varieties under three different names, Vajradhātviśvarī Mārīchī, Oddiyāna Mārīchī and Vajravetālī. There are, however, very slight differences between these three varieties which mainly lie in the different weapons held in their hands, and, as such, they have been classed together. Excepting Vajravetālī who is represented singly, others are accompanied by a deity serving as a charioteer. The common features of these three varieties are that they have six faces, four on the four sides, fifth on the top, and sixth atop the fifth one, which is sow-like. All these three stand in the *ālīḍha* attitude and bear the image of Vairochana over the crown.⁴ They present a terrifying spectacle with three eyes, protruding tongue, bare fangs, serpent-ornaments and tiger-skin garments. In her six right hands, Vajradhātviśvarī carries

1. *Sāghanamālā*, pp. 299-302; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

2. *Sādhana* no. 139 in *Sāghanamālā*, pp. 285-86; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

4. *Sādhana* no. 136 in *Sāghanamālā*, p. 280; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

sword, *musala*, arrow, goad, *vajra* and *paraśu* and in her six left hands noose, *kapāla*, *aśoka* bough, severed head of Brahmā, bow and trident. Oddiyāna Mārīchī holds the *chakra* in one of her hands, instead of the goad, and the *khaṭvāṅga-kapāla* in the other, instead of *kapāla*. Vajravetālī in one of her right hands holds the crossed double thunderbolt, instead of the goad or the discus, and, in one of the left hands, the noose, instead of the *kapāla* or the *khaṭvāṅga-kapāla*.¹ All the other hands carry the same weapons in all the three cases.

As already said, almost all the images of Mārīchī discovered so far belong to the Aṣṭabhuja-pīṭa variety. The Indian Museum at Calcutta is in possession of a very interesting and highly remarkable piece of sculpture² belonging to the Pāla period, datable on stylistic ground in the beginning of the 11th-12th century A.D., which depicts the goddess three-faced and eight-armed, standing in the *ālīḍha* attitude, with her right leg somewhat bent and the left one thrown behind quite straight, over a double petalled lotus. She has her face to the left, as required by the text, the appearance of a sow. In her four right hands, the goddess is shown carrying the needle, the elephant-goad, the arrow and the thunderbolt and the left hands having the string, the *aśoka*-flower, the bow and a noose in the raised index finger against her breast (*tarjanī-pāśa*). The top of the conical stela shows the figure of Vairocana seated and exhibiting the *dharmachakra-mudrā*. Below the principal figure, on the pedestal are shown the seven pigs supposed to draw the chariot, the central one facing to the front and the rest running in opposite directions. Over them, in the front, is represented the figure of fierce Rāhu in an endeavour to devour the sun and the moon; and over Rāhu is the figure of a four-armed female, presumably the charioteer, seated cross-legged, within a separate rounded miniature stela. According to the *sādhana*, the goddess is to be accompanied by four female attendants. In this sculpture, four miniature female figures, all four-armed and resembling each other, three of them standing in the *ālīḍha* and the fourth in the *pratyālīḍha* attitudes, evidently the goddesses attending upon the principal one, occupy the four corners of the stela in front of separate miniature stelae. Behind Mārīchī can be seen on the back-slab lines drawn in such a manner as to suggest flames of fire all around the goddess.

Another figure of Mārīchī, illustrated by Bhattacharya, is also from the Indian Museum at Calcutta.³ Although much similar to the preceding one, it has certain features quite distinct of its own. Belonging to the Pāla period, approximately of the same age, the figure like the preceding one shows the goddess three-faced and eight-armed, standing in the *ālīḍha* attitude. The forearm of the front right hand which must have held the needle is damaged. The third right hand from below instead of carrying an arrow is seen holding the thunderbolt, which ought to have been

1. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212, fig. 152; *Sādhana-mālā*, II, pp. CLXIV-XV, pl. XIII; Kramrisch, *Pala and Sena Sculpture*, fig. 30.

3. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 212, fig. 153.

held in the uppermost right hand. The uppermost hand, raised high above, is catching hold of the hilt of a sword. The arrow is held in the second right hand, in place of an elephant goad or spear. The arrangement of the objects held in the left hands, however, does not differ from the earlier example, though the hand raised against the breast in the *tarjanī-pāśa mudrā* is mutilated. As in the first example, here also the female charioteer is squatted between the feet of the goddess and the seven pigs are carved on the pedestal. The figures of the sun and the moon depicted as being devoured by Rāhu in the previous example are, however, conspicuous by their absence. The *asura*, however, appears just below the central figure of the pig standing to front upon whom it seems to rest. Whereas four attendant goddesses are required to accompany Mārīchī occupying the four corners of the stela as in the preceding example, in the present sculpture there are only three attendant figures, the fourth which ought to have filled the upper left corner is missing. The absence of the fourth figure is evidently due to the position of the uppermost right hand of the goddess that no space could be spared for her to be represented.

These Indian Museum figures may profitably be compared with another figure of Mārīchī hailing from Kurkihār and now deposited in the Museum at Lucknow,¹ which like the two already discussed has also been endowed with three faces and eight arms and represented as standing in the *ālīḍha* attitude. The figures of the seven pigs and the female charioteer squatted between the legs of the goddess are common to all. But unlike the second and like the first Calcutta images, the Lucknow Museum figure of Mārīchī is accompanied by four attending deities, and, unlike them, the attending figures possess only two arms. Like the second Calcutta image, the goddess holds a sword but not in the topmost right hand; it is held in the third right hand from below. No figures of the sun and the moon can be noticed as being devoured by Rāhu, but the demon appears as in the second Calcutta image, though in a little different position. Whereas in the second Calcutta image, Rāhu is represented just below the figure of the central pig facing to the front; in the Lucknow image, he is placed immediately below the cross-legged figure and over the central pig. The great similarity between the second Calcutta and the Lucknow images may be accounted for their having hailed from Bihar.

Several such figures of Mārīchī are known from eastern part of the country, almost all of them belonging to the mediaeval period. Images of Mārīchī from Nālandā in the Nālandā² Museum, the Patna³ and the Calcutta⁴ Museums, the one

1. Ghosh, A., *A Guide to Nalanda*; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 212, fig. 154; Cunningham, A., *Mahabodhi*, pp. 55 and 74, pl. XXX; *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 217-18, pl. LXII, fig. 4.
2. Ghosh, A., *A Guide to Nalanda*, p. 30 (nos. 1A-65 and 1A-122) and p. 20.
3. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35, fig. 112; *ASIAR*, 1923-24, p. 101, pl. XXXVI, c (Patna Museum has another image of the goddess in black stone belonging to the Pāla period. Shere, S.A., *Guide to the Archl. Section, Patna Museum*, p. 10, no. 1569).
4. Kramrisch, *Pala and Sena Sculpture*, fig. 22.

from Ujani¹ and the other fished out of the Padmā river² (both in the Dacca Museum) in Bengal, from Kendrapara,³ Khitching⁴ and Mayurabhanja⁵ in Orissa are some of the representative examples more often reproduced in works of art. All these are of the three-faced and eight-armed variety, standing in the *ālīdha* attitude and having the left face the appearance of a sow. Though they are much similar to each other in their general appearance, yet they show wide divergence in their minute details, leaving aside their stylistic distinctions. Objects held in the hands of the goddess are by no means always uniform conforming to the textual prescriptions, what to speak of their being shown in the order of their enumeration. According to the text, she should hold needle, elephant-goad, arrow, thunderbolt, *aśoka*-flower, bow and string in seven of her hands, and display *tarjanī-pāśa* by the eighth. But in some of the sculptural representations, sword has been substituted in the topmost right hand of the goddess in place of the thunderbolt which has been put in the right hand immediately below, doing away with the arrow or the elephant-goad,⁶ or alternatively sword is being put in the third right hand from below replacing the *aṅkuśa* or arrow. In some of the specimens, the presiding deity, Vairochana in the *dharmachakra-mudrā*, is made to occupy the topmost part of the stela⁷, whereas in others he adorns the front part of the head-dress placed over the central head of the goddess.⁸ Usually four female divinities are seen attending upon the goddess occupying the four corners of the stela; but in certain cases, for want of space and due to the position of the topmost right hand raised high above brandishing sword, the fourth figure in the upper left corner is either altogether excluded leaving only three such repetitions of the goddess,⁹ or the fourth is made to occupy quite a different portion of the stela, often below her left arm.¹⁰ These attending figures should have four arms, but instances are not wanting where they are being provided with two arms only.¹¹ Further, in some of the sculptures, these four figures have altogether been left out.¹² Such variations are also noticeable with regard to the pedestal as well. In most of the sculptures, the seven pigs, which are supposed to draw the chariot of the goddess, are carved on the pedestal, but specimens are not unknown in which they are conspicuous by their absence,¹³ while others

1. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 44, pl. XIII, b.
2. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44, pl. XIV.
3. *MAI-44*, pl. VI.5.
4. *ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 127, pl. XLI, f.
5. Vasu, N.N., *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, pp. XCII-V, figs. 49 and 49a.
6. Verma, B.S., *op. cit.*, fig. 35; Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, fig. 22.
7. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV.
8. Verma, B.S., *op. cit.*, fig. 35; Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, fig. 22; Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, b; *ASIAR*, 1922-23, pl. XLI, f.
9. Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, fig. 22.
10. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV.
11. *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, b.
12. *ASIAR*, 1922-23, pl. XLI, f; *MAI-44*, pl. VI.5; Verma, *op. cit.*, fig. 35; Sinha, *op. cit.*, fig. 112.
13. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, fig. 112.

show the seven figures of the pigs flanked by two wheels, presumably the wheels of the chariot,¹ and further flanked by two human figures, one male and the other a female, both in the attitude of adoration, evidently representing the donors of the image.² Usually the *asura* Rāhu appears on the pedestal, either above³ or below⁴ the central pig or between the group of the pigs,⁵ but at times, he is also not to be found.⁶ Again, the charioteer, a counterpart of the legless Aruṇa, is a female shown between the legs of the principal figure, either two⁷ or four⁸ armed, seated cross-legged⁹ or standing in the *ālīḍha* attitude in the manner of her mistress¹⁰ (Fig. 44).

One of the terracotta plaques fixed on the north-western wall of the Stūpa Mound at Antichak represents the figure of three-faced Mārīchī, with the left face having the appearance like that of a sow.¹¹ She has a short crested crown over each of her three heads. Her hair is neatly brushed over the central head and arranged into a coil of six tiers looking very much like six discs.

The images of Mārīchī from Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, so far taken into account, are all three-faced and eight-armed, as required by the text. Sarnath¹² (U.P.) has, however, yielded a figure of the goddess which resembles other figures practically in all respects; but it differs from its prototypes in the number of her arms which is not eight but six only. As usual the goddess is represented three-faced (the left face being sow-like), standing in the *ālīḍha* attitude of an archer. The lower part of her body is clad in a garment fastened to the waist with a plain girdle (*kāñchī*) while the upper half is bare with the exception of a scarf (*uttariya*) thrown over two of her arms. Her central face is larger than the other two and the proper left is that of a sow. She has, as said before, only six arms, of which the two upper, now broken, probably held a thunderbolt and an *aśoka* flower; the other attributes held in the remaining hands being a bow, an arrow and an *aṅkuśa*. The last hand raised menacingly against the breast holds a noose (*tarjanī-pāśa*). The central head wears a conical mitre, on the front of which is the figure of Vairocana. On the pedestal are carved in relief the usual seven boars, the central one facing to the front and the rest running in either direction, which draw

1. *ASIAR*, 1922-23, pl. XLI, f.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV.

4. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, fig. 153.

5. *ASIAR*, 1922-23, pl. XLI, f.

6. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, fig. 112; *MAI-44*, pl. VI.5; Verma, *op. cit.*, fig. 35; Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, fig. 22; Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, b.

7. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, b; Verma, *op. cit.*, fig. 35.

8. *MAI-44*, pl. VI.5.

9. Verma, *op. cit.*, fig. 35.

10. *MAI-44*, pl. VI.5; Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, b.

11. *JBRs*, Vol. LVII, p. 65.

12. *ASIAR*, 1904-05, pp. 87-88 and 95, pl. XXX, d (ro. 126); Sahni, D.R., *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, pp. 148-49, pl. XVII, b.

the car of the goddess, surmounted by the corpulent figure of the female charioteer above the central boar. In one corner below is a couple of human votaries, probably the donors of the image. The remaining space is taken up by an almost obliterated inscription difficult to be deciphered. The Sarnath image differs from the Bihar image in the Indian Museum and also from another in the Lucknow Museum in several respects. Firstly, whereas the latter two are eight-armed, the former has only six arms. Secondly, it does not show the head of Rāhu, which figures usually on all those discussed earlier. And lastly, the attending figures of the four divinities found in the earlier examples are also absent in the present sculpture from Sarnath. In this connection reference may be made to a fragment of a stone image in the Sarnath Museum, representing the base of a similar Mārīchī figure.¹ The goddess herself is missing; but the pedestal is quite intact. The female charioteer holding a thunderbolt in her right hand is represented sitting astride on the mask of the demon placed on the flat top of the base in the centre. The wheels of the chariot are shown on each side of the base. The execution of the seven boars on the front of the pedestal, though in bold relief, is very artistic. To the proper left of the charioteer is figure with a single boar's face having a bow in the right hand and an arrow in the left drawing out of quiver. The lower part of a similar figure can be seen on the other side of the charioteer. Evidently these two represent four of the attendant goddesses. The fragment thus shows certain novel features which are missing in the Sarnath image just discussed. Whereas there is no indication of the chariot in the image described above, its wheels are clearly carved in the present fragment. Further, like the Bihar images, the fragment shows the figure of Rāhu and also indicates the presence of the four attending divinities which are missing in the preceding example from Sarnath.

The Indian Museum at Calcutta possesses a highly interesting image of Mārīchī belonging to the Pāla period,² representing the goddess three-faced and six-armed and standing in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude, bending forward on her left side. What renders the figure quite unique is that both the side faces of the goddess have the appearance of a sow; and as such the present figure of Mārīchī may be regarded as that of the Ubhayavarāhānana type. In three of her right hands, she holds from below a drinking vessel, an arrow and a thunderbolt; whereas in two of her left hands, she bears a bow and a looped noose in front of her breast (*tarjanī-pāśa*), the third uppermost left hand being broken. On the background of the stela are representations of tongues of flames issuing from all parts of the goddess. On the pedestal are carved the seven pigs, the wheel of the chariot, the two-armed female charioteer seated cross-legged above and the bust of Rāhu below. In accordance with the text,³ Ubhayavarāhānana Mārīchī is characterised by three faces (side ones

1. *ASIAR*, 1904-05, p. 88, pl. XXXI, c.1; Sahni, D.R., *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.

2. Banerji, R.D., *EISMS*, pp. 30-31, pl. XII, b (I.M. no. 6267).

3. *Sādhana* no. 145 in *Sādhanamālā*, pp. 299-300.

being sow-like) and twelve arms, being attended by two adoring male figures. The goddess is said to trample under her feet the Hindu divinities, Hari, Hara, Hiranyagarbha and others. The figure of Ubhayavarāhānana in the Indian Museum shows wide divergence from the textual prescriptions. Instead of twelve, the goddess is endowed with six arms only. The Hindu gods required to be trampled under her feet are also conspicuous by their absence, and so also are absent the two male figures required to pay homage to the goddess. The additional features noticeable in the image are the figures of the seven pigs, the chariot wheel, the bust of Rāhu and the female charioteer about which the text is quite silent. The figures of the four attending divinities, as required by the text, are, however, not to be found. The important feature which enables the goddess to be identified with Ubhayavarāhānana type of Mārīchī is her two side faces which are rendered sow-like. Her front face is, however, considerably damaged.

Besides these images, those of Sīta Mārīchī, Oddiyāna Mārīchī and Aśoka-kāntā Mārīchī conforming to the textual descriptions have been discovered in the Pañchapīra sub-division of Mayurabhañja.¹

A survey of the Mārīchī images shows that all the varieties as mentioned in the text are not substantiated by the sculptural representations. Aṣṭabhuja-pīta Mārīchī gained special favour of the sculptors, for the images representing this particular form of the goddess have been found widely diffused in the northern part of the country. As the name implies, this form of the goddess is represented with eight arms, following the textual prescriptions in greater details. There is, however, another variety to this form as well in which instead of being eight-armed, she has been endowed with six arms only; otherwise identical in all other respects with the eight-armed variety. Ubhayavarāhānana type of the goddess is also known from a solitary specimen in the Indian Museum, exemplifying wide divergence from her description in the text. Excepting the two side faces of the goddess having the appearance of a sow, practically nothing seems common between the sculptural representation and the canonical description; rather, the six-armed goddess resembles in every respect the Aṣṭabhuja-pīta type of Mārīchī, excepting that the former has the two side faces sow-like and only six arms. Aśoka-kāntā, Sīta, and Oddiyāna forms of Mārīchī, though very rarely represented, are also known from Mayurabhañja.

As Bhattacharya has pointed out, Mārīchī is sometimes considered to be identical with Vajravārāhī, but for certain obvious differences this does not appear to be so. Hence, as Bhattacharya suggested, images of Mārīchī have to be distinguished from those of Vajravārāhī. Vajravārāhī is actively associated in *yab-yum* with her consort Heruka or Saṃvara, an emanation of Akṣobhya; but Mārīchī invariably appears singly, and her consort is Vairocana himself, and she is not an

1. Vasu, N.N., *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, vol. II.

emanation of any Dhyānī Buddha. Vajravārāhī, like her consort Heruka, rides upon a corpse [lying on its chest,¹ but] Mārīchī never treads upon a corpse or even the prostrate body of a man. Vajravārāhī has always one face with an excrescence near her right ear; but Mārīchī, even when one-faced, is not known to have any excrescence on her face. Vajravārāhī may have four arms, but Mārīchī has two, six, eight, ten, or twelve arms. Mārīchī is always said to reside in the womb of a *chaitya*, whereas Vajravārāhī being an abbess may reside anywhere. The *mantra* for Vajravārāhī is also different from that of Mārīchī. The *Dharaṇī* for Mārīchī given by Śāntideva never refers to her as Vajravārāhī. The conception of Mārīchī has a greater antiquity than that of Vajravārāhī or Heruka. The union of Heruka and Vajravārāhī is the subject matter of the *Vajravārāhī-tantra*, but no Tantra is assigned to Mārīchī. Vajravārāhī stands in the *ardhaparyāṅka* in a dancing attitude on a corpse; but Mārīchī stands almost always in the *ālīḍha* attitude and moves in a chariot, but she is never in the dancing attitude. Last but not the least, Vajravārāhī is called a *Dākinī*, that is, an abbess who had attained perfection (*siddhi*) and had become a deified woman, but Mārīchī is a goddess first and last. In view of these wide differences in form, character and accoutrements, the identity of the two, Mārīchī and Vajravārāhī, cannot be established, the only points of agreement between them being that they are emanations of Vairocana and both have sometimes two arms and two legs.¹

1. Bhattachaya, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

HĀRITĪ

HĀRITĪ is a very popular goddess of the Buddhists, very frequently represented in Indian art as closely associated with the children in the capacity of their protectress. Originally a demoness of smallpox pledged to devouring the children, she was converted by the Buddha into a presiding deity of fertility and child birth. Before her birth as a Yakṣī, she had been a herdman's wife in Rājagṛha, the capital city of Magadha, when she was forced to dance at one of its numerous festivals while pregnant, resulting in her miscarriage. The incident filled her heart with a passion so violent for revenge that she took a most cruel vow of devouring the children of the city.¹

According to the *Vinayaṭīkaṃ* of the *Sarvāstivāda* school,² she was reborn as a Yakṣī in Rājagṛha, named as 'Huanshi' (meaning joy), and became the mother of five hundred children,³ all very strong. She was supposed to be the guardian deity of the people of Magadha; but for the spiteful wish in her previous life, she took to stealing and eating the children of the city of Rājagṛha⁴—hence she was named as Hārītī (the thief). The people approached the Buddha, who was in the city, for relief. To put an end to the Yakṣī's cannibal mode of life, the lord enlarged his begging bowl miraculously and hid her youngest and favourite child beneath it. When the Yakṣī, searching for her missing child everywhere and distressed at her loss, came before the Buddha, he addressed her: "Art thou so sorry for thy lost child, thou beloved; how much more grieved are those who have lost their only one or two children on account of thy cruel vow". These words of the Master had the desired effect. She became converted soon, promised to renounce cannibalism, and became a lay member of his communion. That is how,

1. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yakṣas*, pt. ii, p. 5.

2. Preserved only in translation in China, the original having disappeared from India, the homeland of Buddhism.

3. Some versions of the legend say 'ten thousand'; the Japanese say a 'thousand'. From *Lalitā-vistara*, u.s. p. 177, the demon-king, chief of the Yakṣa army—supposed to be the husband of Hārītī—was called Pāṇckika.

4. The Yakṣas are described as devouring human beings, whose eyes did not wink and who cast no shadows, possibly representing the aboriginal local divinities, a survival of demonolatry.

according to Zimmer,¹ this mother goddess of evil portent—an incarnation of the plagues that destroy the children—was cured of her obsession and admitted to the order. Coomaraswamy² has humorously remarked: “We may say that having had her complex cured by the Great Master of psychology, she reverts to the normal”. To provide for the subsistence of the Yakṣī and her numerous children, the Buddha ordained an abundant offering of food to be made to them by the Bhikṣus in all the monasteries regularly. In return to this, the Yakṣī and her offsprings were to continue to be the guardians of these sanctuaries.³ The Chinese traveller⁴ observes, “For this reason, the image of Hārītī is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining hall of the Indian monasteries depicting her as holding a babe in her arm and round her knees three or four children”. It is interesting to note that the excavation of the monastic site at Chirānd in the Saran district of Bihar in the spring months of 1964 has yielded a terracotta figure of Hārītī with a babe held close to the breast of the goddess.

The story appears to have been further developed in the *Saṃyuktaratna-sūtra* of the Chinese *Sūtra Piṭakam* of the Hinayāna school. The youngest child is called Piṅgala in one place and Pileṅka in another. Hārītī is mentioned as having been turned into a protectress and giver of children.⁵ According to I-tsing,⁶ she is not only the giver of children but also of wealth.

In Kṣemendra's *Bodhisttvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*,⁷ the story is given with much poetic embellishment. Here the name of the child removed is Pṛyaṅkara, which was probably translated in Chinese as Pileṅka. The citizens of Rājagṛha prefer their complaint to king Bimbisāra in the first instance who moves the Buddha.

That the cannibal nature of the goddess was not forgotten is evident from the following observations of Getty⁸: “She was also sometimes represented holding a pomegranate, for Gautama Buddha is believed to have cured her of cannibalism by giving her a diet of pomegranate, the red fruit being supposed to resemble human flesh”. No authority is, however, quoted for this statement. Getty further says that Hārītī devoured all her own children except the last one Piṇḍola, whom the Buddha saved by hiding him in his begging bowl. Bhatṭasali⁹ observes: ‘I have nowhere come across this version of the story and the name Piṇḍola also appears to be new. The only two variants of the name of the child hitherto met with appear to be Piṅgala and Pṛyaṅkara.’

1. Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 136.

2. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pt. ii, p. 5.

3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 216.

4. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, p. 37.

5. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 216, f.n. 3.

6. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

7. *JBTS*, pt. i, 1897, pp. 26-29.

8. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 86.

9. Bhatṭasali, N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 67, f.n. 1.

In the Buddhist art, Hārītī is readily recognised from the children hanging round her. Sometimes she is shown seated with a child resting in her lap and childishly playing with her necklace or at times simultaneously sucking her breast. Then again, she is found standing, but her favourite child still clinging to her bosom, placed astride on her hip in the manner women usually carry their children.

Earlier representations of Hārītī are found amongst the sculptures of the Gandhāra school. The figure of Hārītī from Takht-i-Bāhi (now in the Peshawar Museum)¹ is shown standing on a vase under a canopy of leaves, carrying the youngest of her many children on her left hip in the local fashion. The figure of the goddess, as usual, is full of motherliness; her pose dignified and stately, giving her a madonna-like appearance. She puts on an Indian dress, and her ornaments include necklace, bracelets, and anklets. On her head is a chaplet of leaves from which a veil falls down her back.

Another figure of Hārītī from Sikri, in the Lahore Museum,² also shows her standing with her favourite child clinging to her breast. She has one child between her feet, three at each side of whom two on the left are wrestling—recalling the expression as mentioned in the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* that each of her children was possessed of the strength of a great wrestler. At least two of the children have succeeded in climbing as far as her shoulders.

There are several figures of Hārītī belonging to the Gandhāra school in the Indian Museum at Calcutta in which the goddess is accompanied by her husband Pāñchika. One of the sculptures hailing from Jamalgarh³ represents the couple standing under a tree in blossom, the male occupying a place to the right of the female. Hārītī stretches out her right hand towards her husband, while in the left, she carries an object looking like a noose. A naked child is shown standing between them and another in the upper background. Another sculpture of the same school in the Museum⁴ shows the male standing to the left of the female. Here again is the figure of a child in the upper background and another such figure standing between the couple. The right hand of the male, which is partly missing, seems to be clasping the left hand of the goddess. In still another group, Hārītī⁵ holds the handle of a pan-shaped vessel, evidently containing eatables by her right. Again a naked child stands between them and another seated to the left of Pāñchika. In still another representation⁶ Pāñchika seems to be offering something, while a child is striding towards Hārītī.

1. Marshall, J., *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, p. 84, fig. 112.

2. Foucher, A., *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 283, pl. XLVII. 2.

3. Majumdar, N.G., *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, pt. ii, p. 110, no. 100, pl. XII, b.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 100, no. 111.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 100, no. 113.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. 115.

In the seated variety also, Hārītī is represented with Pāñchika or quite alone by herself. The figure of Hārītī in the British Museum¹ is shown seated on a throne with both her legs pendent and a child resting in her lap and childishly playing with her necklace. The head of the child in the lap of the goddess is partly broken. Other persons, one of whom on the right is feeding a parrot, while two others on the left are wrestling, a fourth raising a fruit to his mouth, and a fifth is crouched on the front of the stand, evidently form part of the progeny of Hārītī. The figure of Hārītī reminds us distinctly of the type of Demeter. The bosoms are placed very high, as are usual in the school of Gandhāra.²

One of the finest and largest reliefs hailing from Sahri-Bahlol (excavated by Spooner in 1907)³ represents both Hārītī and Pāñchika seated side by side, the male holding the lance in his right hand and in his left, the money-bag; but, Hārītī instead of carrying the child contends herself with only the symbol of fecundity, the cornucopiae. At Takht-i-Bāhi,⁴ while Hārītī still holds the cornucopiae, Pāñchika has put aside his symbol as warrior and carries only the money-bag. Another large composition, again from Sahri-Bahlol,⁵ exhibits both Hārītī and Pāñchika seated on a common pedestal side by side, the male seated to the right of the goddess, with both their legs pendent. In his hands, both broken, Pāñchika, the pot-bellied figure, the genius of riches, as suggested by Foucher,⁶ may have held a lance in his right hand and a purse in the left, which Hārītī was apparently helping him to exhibit to the gladdened eye of the faithful. Hārītī is nurstling a baby held in her left hand who is childishly playing with her necklace; besides five other children around them probably standing for the five hundred sons. In addition to these, sixteen more children are represented playing about on the pedestal. According to Marshall,⁷ Pāñchika here is the peace-loving god of wealth and prosperity. 'His eyes are mild, his features gentle and he holds no spear in his hand'.⁸ In a bas-relief found by Hackin at Paitva, Afghanistan,⁹ Hārītī is figured holding a cornucopiae in a niche at the left of the Buddha, while in the corresponding niche at the right is Vajrapāṇi instead of Pāñchika. A circular plaque having an outer row of pearls (most of them missing) set in channel—gold repousse with pearls and cut garnets—from the Taxila area (c. 3rd-4th century A.D.), now in the Victoria and Albert Museum,¹⁰

1. *Journal of Indian Art and Industries*, 1898, pl. 4, 2.
2. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*.
3. Getty, A., *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 87; Foucher, *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, II, fig. 387.
4. ASIAR, 1911-12, p. 8; Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
5. ASIAR, 1906-07, pl. XXXII, c; Marshall, J., *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, p. 105, fig. 144; Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, pp. 44 and 50, pl. 7; Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 283, pl. XLVIII.1.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
7. Marshall, J., *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, p. 105, fig. 144.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
9. *Sculptures greco-bouddhique de Hackin*, pl. IV; Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 87, f.n. 3.
10. Ashton, L., *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 47.

portrays in low relief in the centre the goddess Hārītī wearing a tiara and holding a flowering stem in each hand.

Representations of Hārītī in the Mathurā art also show the goddess, the presiding deity of fertility and child birth, surrounded by a number of children and playing with them. The Archaeological Museum at Mathurā¹ possesses several such figures. The figure of Hārītī of the Kuṣāṇa period, belonging to the Mathurā school, in the Patna Museum², is shown seated with her legs wide apart. An infant can be seen sitting on her left leg and another squatting between her two legs. Pearl necklace between her breasts and scarf on her left shoulder crosses the chest above the breasts.

In the Mathurā art of the Kuṣāṇa period as well, Hārītī is represented in the company of her lord. In a specific example from Mathurā, now displayed in the Mathurā Museum, both Jambhala and Hārītī have been shown seated side by side, sharing the common pedestal, with both their legs pendent, the former being seated to the right side of the goddess. Jambhala is holding a lance in his right hand and a cup of wine in the left hand. Hārītī is distinguished by a baby held in her left hand and resting on her left lap who is touching the mother's left breast. The object held in her right hand is too indistinct to be identified (Fig. 45).

Such representations of Hārītī are also to be met with in her images of the mediaeval period. The Museum at Sarnath³ possesses a figure of the goddess, made out of the reddish Chunar, sandstone, seated with a child held in her left arm. It was unearthed to the north-west of the Jagat Singh Stūpa. Another figure of the goddess in the Nālandā Museum,⁴ belonging to the Pāla period, is shown seated in *lalitāsana* with a child on the left knee and a fruit held in her right arm, being a symbol of Jambhala, showing her connection with the god. An inscription at the back of the figure suggests it to have been erected in the reign of Devapāla. Still another image⁵ has her right hand held in the *varada-mudrā* and the left holding a stalk supporting a vase with a foliage issuing out of it. Five overturned jars on the pedestal, a characteristic of Jambhala, leave no doubt as to her identity.

The four-armed stone image of Hārītī from Paikpārā in the Dacca Museum⁶ is quite interesting. The goddess with a child in her two front hands clasped on her lap, and a fish and a skull-cup held in her back right and left hands, is seated on a lotus with her legs locked. It is quite an interesting figure of the goddess in as much as, instead of two arms so far met with, the figure is endowed with four arms, besides

1. Nos. F. 8 and 144; Agrawala, V.S., *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra*, p. 25.
2. Shere, S.A., *Guide to the Archaeological Section, Patna Museum*, p. 6, no. 6337.
3. *ASIAR*, 1904-05, p. 98, no. 300; Sahni, D.R., *Cat. of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 154, no. B (f) 50.
4. Ghosh, A., *A Guide to Nalanda*, pp. 30-31, no. 1-372.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 31, no. 1-459.
6. Bhattachali, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 67; Banerji, *EISMS*, pl. LXIII (d); *HBR*, I, p. 461.

having two new symbols in her back hands. Usually a number of children are shown surrounding the goddess, but in this piece only one child is held in her lap. The presence of the two extra hands with the new symbols—a fish and a skull-cup—appears to be Mahāyāna redaction of the two-armed goddess, reminiscent of the cannibal nature of the goddess, as suggested by Bhattasali.

Thus in iconography, Hārītī, originally an ogress, an incarnation of destruction of the children, which, in due course, came to be regarded as the goddess of fertility and child-birth, is usually represented standing or seated with a child in her lap, sometimes suckling her breast and childishly playing with her necklace, and several others surrounding her, some of them playing and wrestling amongst themselves. Being considered as the spouse of Pāñchika, she is made to accompany her husband in certain of the sculptural representations, in both the standing and the seated varieties of the images. Very rarely she is shown without any child; but in that case she is either accompanied by her husband, or, if alone, she has the symbols characteristic of her lord. A rare example depicts her four-armed, with a fish and a skull-cup in her two back hands; the principal hands clasping a babe in her lap.

APPENDIX

A Note on

TRAILOKYA-VIJAYA, APARĀJITĀ AND PARṆAŚABARĪ

The religious atmosphere prevailing in the country since very early time, but more particularly in the mediaeval period, was that of toleration and rapprochement. It was long before the different cults were evolved that the beautiful sentiment embodied in the famous couplet of the *dirghātmas* hymn¹ was expressed, emphasising the existence of one eternal principle being called in various other ways (*ekam sat viprā vahudhā vadanti*). The evolution of the *pañchāyatana pūjā* and the construction of the *pañchāyatana* type of temples are but illustrative of the liberal bent of mind of the Hindu devotees. The Indian Museum at Calcutta is in possession of a very interesting piece of sculpture from Bihar² which shows a Śiva-liṅga in the centre with the figures of the four cult deities (Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya) superimposed on four of its faces. Again another Śiva-liṅga from Bodhgayā,³ bearing an inscription of the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla, shows Viṣṇu and Bhairava represented on three of its sides, the fourth side being utilised for the inscription carved upon it. Images of Harihara which represent the fusion of more than one deities into one composite whole, as already seen, characteristically demonstrate the syncretic tendency operating amongst the followers of the rival sects. But such a tendency at work is visible not only within the fold of Brahmanism. The spirit of religious toleration and rapprochement did not leave untouched even the non-Brahmanical cults. In this connection reference may be made to the Harihara image from Bihar in the Indian Museum⁴ in which Sūrya and Buddha are shown standing on either side of the central figure. There are also mediaeval images depicting Lord Buddha accompanied by the Hindu gods Brahmā and Indra⁵ and the Buddhist goddess Bhṛkuṭī accompanied by the Hindu gods Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya,⁶ in addition to the symbolical representations of Sūrya and Chandra, suggesting thereby a happy combination of the deities of different faiths. Even in early Indian art, the Buddha is found attended upon by the Hindu divinities Brahmā and Indra. The acceptance of the Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu is also suggestive of the effort being made on the part of the Hindus for maintaining better relation with the Buddhists. Not only that; even from the Buddhist monas-

1. RV, I, 164, 46.

2. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 545, pl. XLVI.2.

3. *JASB (NS)*, IV, p. 102.

4. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 546-47, pl. XLVIII.1.

5. Verma, B.S., *Socio-Religious, Economic and Literary Condition of Bihar*, pl. 22 (Patna Museum, no. 9591).

6. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, fig. 122, a.

teries at Nālandā and Kurkihar in Bihar a large number of images of the Hindu deities have been discovered. Besides, there are numerous instances which clearly prove that during the period when in the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna the Buddhist pantheon was considerably enlarged, the Buddhists freely incorporated into their religion several of the Hindu deities under different names and also with certain modifications. Sarasvatī, Gaṇeśa and Saptamātṛkās were directly recruited amongst the Buddhist divinities. Tārā with a serene face and a lotus in hand seems to be a direct outcome of the Hindu Śakti worship. Hindu deities Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Kubera etc. came to be incorporated into Buddhism as Mārīcī, Lokeśvara, Jambhala etc. with suitable modifications. Nilakaṇṭha and Vajrahūṅkāra are but adaptations of the mild and the fierce aspects of Śiva and so also Simhanāda with a *jaṇāmukuta*, a tiger-skin and snakes is derived from this very Hindu god.

But the images of the Buddhist deities like Aparājītā, Parṇaśabarī, Trailokya-vijaya and Vighnāntaka tell a different tale. Whereas Aparājītā, Parṇaśabarī and Vighnāntaka have been represented as pressing down under their feet the Hindu god of wisdom, Gaṇeśa, Trailokya-vijaya has been depicted as trampling upon the prostrate figures of Śiva and Pārvatī. The images of these Buddhist deities, shown as humiliating the Brahmanical deities, do not apparently fit in a period of religious toleration and cult amalgam. It has also to be borne in mind that the images of such Buddhist gods and goddesses have mostly been found in the Nālandā and Bodhgayā regions of Bihar. These sculptural representations of the Buddhist deities in the act of insulting the Brahmanical ones may, therefore, indicate that such aggressive and provoking attitude of the Buddhists as reflected in their images might have been fanned against the hostility of some Hindu fanatics in Bihar or that they might have been the cause of provocation to the traditionally liberal religious attitude of the Hindus. In this connection it may be mentioned that 'some Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and Kapilas who did not like that Dīpaṅkara should preach Buddhism in Tibet', are said to have 'engaged some robbers to take away his life as soon as he passed the border of India'.¹ The Tibetan scholar, Dharmasvāmin,² who visited Bihar in 1234-36 A.D., records that at Vajrāsana (Bodhgayā) the Buddhists had put an image of Śiva in front of the Buddha's image to protect it from the wrath of the non-Buddhists. This would indicate that the Brahmanical opposition to the Buddhism was a factor to be reckoned with by the Buddhists. Evidence of a somewhat different nature is furnished by another Tibetan scholar Tāranātha, of course of a much later time, who, while describing the destruction of the magnificent Nālandā library, refers to a more severe act of hostility. 'After the Turushka raiders had made incursions in Nālandā', he says, 'the temples and the chaityas there were repaired by a sage named Muditabhadra. Soon after this, Kukuṭasiddha, minister of the king of Magadha, erected a temple at Nālandā, and while a religious sermon was being delivered there, two very indignant Tīrthika mendicants appeared. Some

1. HBR, I, p. 676.

2. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, published by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna,

naughty young novice monks threw washing water in disdain on them. This made them very angry. After propitiating the sun for twelve years, they performed a Yajña, fire-sacrifice, and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples. This produced a great conflagration which consumed Ratnodadhi.¹ The reaction of the Hindus against the Buddhist fanaticism is also reflected from the stone slab found at Konch (Gaya district),² which, while representing all the incarnations of Viṣṇu, has left out the figure of the Buddha, supposed to be the ninth incarnation. It is, therefore, more than likely that some such incidents could have provoked some sections of the Buddhists in Bihar to give vent to their feelings through the images of some of their gods and goddesses shown as humiliating the Hindu deities.

1. *MAI-66*, p. 7.

2. Diwakar, R.R., *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 335,

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi* Ed. by R. Shamasastri, Mysore, 1926
- Agrawal, Urmil *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, New Delhi, 1964
- Agrawala, P.K. *Skanda-Kārttikeya*, Varanasi, 1967
- Agrawala, V.S. *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow, 1951
- A Short Guide Book to the Archaeological Section of the Provincial Museum*, Lucknow, Allahabad, 1940
- A Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology*, Muttra, Allahabad, 1939
- Devī-Mahātmyam, The Glorification of the Great Goddess*, Varanasi, 1963
- Sarnath*, New Delhi, 1957
- Ahīrbudhnya-saṃhitā* Ed. by Ramanujacharya (2 volumes), Adyar Library, Madras, 1916
- Allan, J. *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India (in the British Museum)*, London, 1936
- Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, King of Gauda (in the British Museum)*, London, 1914
- Altekar, A.S. *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954
- Coinage of the Gupta Dynasty*, Bombay, 1954
- Gupta-kālīna Mudrāyen* (in Hindi), Patna, 1954
- Amara *Nāmalingāmuśāsaṇa* with commentary of Bhaṭṭakṣīrasvāmin, Ed. by H.D. Sharma and N.G. Saradesai, Poona, 1941

- Aṃśumadbhedāgama* ASS, No. 41, Poona, 1900 and Appendices in Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*
- Anderson, J. *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1883*
- Ashton, L. *The art of India and Pakistan, London, 1947-48.*
- Aśvaghoṣa *Buddhacharita*, Ed. and Trans. by E.H. Johnston (2 volumes), Panjab University Oriental Publication No. 31, Calcutta, 1935-36
- Atharva-veda* Ed. by Sripada Sarma, Aundha Nagar, Bombay, 1940
- Awasthi, R. *Khajurāho-Kī-Deva-Pratimāyen*, Agra, 1967
- Bajpeyi, K.D. *Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow, 1957*
Mathura (in Hindi)
- Bachhofer, L. *Early Indian Sculpture* (2 volumes), Paris, 1929
- Banerjea, J.N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1956
- Banerji, R.D. *A Descriptive List of Sculptures and Coins in the Museum of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1911*
Bas-reliefs of Badami (MASI-25), 1928
Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, ASI, New Imperial Series, vol. XLVII, Delhi, 1933
The Śiva Temple at Bhumra (MASI-16), 1924
- Barth, A. *The Religions of India, London, 1882*
- Barua, B.K. *A Cultural History of Assam, Nowgong, Assam, 1951*
- Barua, B.M. *Bārhut* (3 volumes), Calcutta, 1934-37
Gaya and Buddhagaya (2 volumes), Calcutta, 1931, 1934
- Basak, R.G. and Bhattacharya, D.C. *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1919*
- Baudhāyana *Dharmasūtra*, Ed. by A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Vārāṇasī, Sam. 1991
- Beal, S. *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World* (2 volumes), London, 1906
Travel of Fah-hian and Sung-yung, 400-518, London, 1869
- Bhagavadgītā* Gita Press, Gorakhpur, Sam. 2014

- Bhandarkar, D.R. *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1921
- Bhandarkar, R.G. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Other Minor Religious Systems*, Poona, 1928
- Bhattacharya, B.C. *Indian Images*, Calcutta and Simla, 1921
- Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939
- Bhattacharya, B.T. *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1958
- Sādhnamālā*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, vol. XLI, Baroda, 1928
- Bhattasali, N.K. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929
- Bhoja *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1919
- Binyon, L. etc. *Examples of Indian Sculptures in the British Museum*, London, Oxford, 1923
- Bloch, T. *Supplementary Catalogue of Archaeological Collections of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1911
- Bloomfield, M. *The Religion of the Veda*, New York and London, 1908
- Burgess, J. *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, (2 volumes), London, 1897-1911
- Chanda, R.P. *Exploration in Orissa (MASI-44)*, Calcutta, 1930
- Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, London, 1936.
- Chandra, P. *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Poona, 1970
- Codrington, K. de B. *An Introduction to the Study of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, London, 1929
- Ancient India (to Gupta Period)*, London, 1926
- Coomaraswamy, A.K. *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (2 volumes), Boston, 1923
- Early Indian Iconography*, Eastern Art, 1928
- History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927
- La Sculpture de Bodhgaya*, Paris, 1935
- Viśvakarma*, London, 1924
- Yakṣas* (2 volumes), Washington, 1929, 31

- Cousens, H. *Chalukyan Architecture of the Canarese Districts*, Calcutta, 1926
- Cowel, E.B. *Jātakas* (7 volumes with index), Cambridge, 1895-1907
- Cunningham, A. *Mahabodhi*, London, 1892
The Stupa of Bharhut, London, 1879
- Das, A.C. *R̥g-vedic Culture*, Calcutta and Madras, 1925
- Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* Edited by H.C. Norman (4 volumes), London, 1906-14
- Dhamma, B.L. and Chandra, S.C. *Khajuraho*, New Delhi, 1957
- Dasgupta, C.C. *Paharpur and Its Monuments*
- Desai, Kalpana S. *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi, 1973
- Dikshit, K.N. *Excavations at Paharpur (MASI-55)*, Delhi, 1938
- Dikshitar, V.R.R. *The Purāṇa Index* (3 volumes), University of Madras, 1951-55
- Diwakar, R.R. *Bihar Through the Ages*, Orient Longmans, Bombay, Calcutta, etc., First Published, 1959
- Dubreuil, G.J. *Iconography of Southern India* (Translated from French by A.C. Martin), Paris, 1937
- Eliot, C. *Hinduism and Buddhism* (3 volumes), London, 1954
- Fausboll, V. *Indian Mythology*, London, 1902
- Fergusson, J. *Tree and Serpent Worship in Ancient India*, London, 1873
- Fergusson, J. and Burgess, J. *Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880
- Fleet, J.F. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1888
- Foucher, A. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art in India and Central Asia*, Paris and London, 1917
Etude Sur l'Iconographie Bouddhisque, Paris, 1905
L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara, Paris, 1923
- Frederic, L. *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, London, 1959
- French, J.C. *The Art of the Pala Empire of Bengal*, Oxford University Press, 1928
- Gangoly, M.M. *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, Calcutta, 1922
Orissa and Her Remains, Ancient and Mediaeval, Calcutta, 1912

- Gangoly, O.C. *The Art of the Chandelas*, Rupa and Co., Bombay, 1957
The Art of the Pallavas, Calcutta, Allahabad, Bombay, 1957
The Art of the Rashtrakutas, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, 1958
- Gardner, P. *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, London, 1886
- Getty, A. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1828
- Ghosh, A. *Nalanda*, 4th edition, Delhi, 1959
- Goetz, H. *The Art & Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950
- Goswami, A. *Indian Temple Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1956
- Goswami, K.G. *A Study of Vaiṣṇavism*, Calcutta, 1956
- Gravely, F.H. and Sivaramamurti, C. *Illustrations of Indian Sculptures in Madras Government Museum*, Madras, 1960
- Growse, A. *Mathura, A District Memoir*, Calcutta, 1883
- Grunwedel, A. *The Buddhist Art in India*, London, 1901
- Gupte, R.S. *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains*, Bombay, 1972
Handbook to the Centenary Exhibition, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, December, 1961
- Hargreaves, H. *A Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, Calcutta, 1930
The Buddha Story in Stone, Calcutta, 1914
- Harivaṃśa* Translated by M.N. Dutta, Calcutta, 1897
- Havell, E.B. *A Handbook of the Indian Art*, London, 1920
The Ideals of Indian Art, London, 1911
- Hayaśirṣa Pañcharātra* Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1952 and 1956
- Hemādri *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, edited by Bharata Chandra Siromani, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1873-78
- Hopkins, E.W. *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1915
- Hunter, etc. *The History of Orissa*, Sushil Gupta Publn., First Published, 1957

- Ingholt, H. *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1957
- Kabir, H. *Archaeology in India*, Delhi, 1950
- Kala, S.C. *Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum*, Allahabad, 1946
- Kālidāsa *Meghadūta*, English translation by C. King, London, 1930
Raghuvamśa, Ed. with English translation by G.R. Nandargikar, Bombay, 1897.
- Kāraṇāgama* Appendices in Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*
- Karmarkar, A.P.¹ *The Religions of India*, vol. I, Lonavala, 1950
- Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*, translated by R. Shamasastri, Mysore, 1956 (5th edn.)
- Khare, G.H. *Mūrti-Vijñāna* (Marathi), Poona, 1939
- Kramrisch, Stella *Art of India*, London, 1955
Indian Sculpture, Calcutta, 1933
Pala and Sena Sculpture, Reprint from Rupam No. 40, Oct. 1929
- Śrī Kumāra *Śilparatna*, Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (2 volumes), Trivandrum, 1924-25
- Kuraishi, M.M. Hamid *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*, ASI, New Imperial Series, No. LI, Calcutta, 1931
- Lalitavistara* Ed. by S. Lefmann, 2 volumes, Halle, 1902-08, Translated by R.L. Mitra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1889
- Longhurst, A.H. *Pallava Architecture* (MASI-17 & 33), Calcutta, 1924 and 1928
- Lohuizen, De Leeuw *The Scythian Period* (1st cen. B.C. to 3rd cen. A.D.), Leiden, 1949
- Macdonell, A.A. *Vedic Mythology*, Varanasi, 1963
- Macdonell, A.A. and Kieth, A.B. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (2 vols), Motilal Banarasi Das, Vārāṇasī, 1958
- Mackenzie, E. *Indian Mythology*
- Mackay, E. *Early Indus Civilization*, London, 1948
- Macnicol, N. *Indian Theism*, Oxford University Press, 1915

- Mahābhārata* Translated by K.M. Ganguly (New Edition), Calcutta, 1926-32
- Mahāmāyūrī* *IHQ*, vol. XIV, 1938
- Majumdar, B. *A Guide to Sarnath* (Revised 2nd Edition), Delhi, 1947
- Majumdar, N.G. *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum* (in 2 Parts), Delhi, 1937
- Majumdar, R.C. *The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. I : The Vedic Age*, London, 1950
- Vol. II : The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1960 (3rd Impression)
- Vol. III : The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954
- Vol. IV : The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay, 1955
- Vol. V : The Struggle for Empire*, Bombay, 1957
- The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, 1943
- Maṇḍana *Rūpamaṇḍana and Rūpāvatāra (Devatā-Mūrti-Prakaraṇa)*. Calcutta Sanskrit Series No. 12
- Manu *Manusmṛiti*, Ed. by G.D. Pathak, Varanasi, 1948
- Marshall, J.H. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge, 1960
- Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931 (in 3 volumes)
- Marshall, J.H. and Foucher, A. *The Monuments of Sanchi* (3 volumes), Calcutta, 1940
- Martin *Eastern India*
- Mahtab, H.K. *History of Orissa*, Lucknow, 1949
- Milindapanha* Translated by Rhys Davids, *SBE*, XXXV-XXXVI, Oxford, 1890-94
- Mitra, Debala *Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1958
- Monier-Williams, A. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1956
- Mookerji, R.K. *The Gupta Empire*, Bombay, 1948
- Munshi, K.M. *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Bombay, 1957
- Nagar, M.M. *Purātattva Saṁgrahālaya Mathurā kī Parichaya Pustaka*, Allahabad, 1947
- Niṣpaṇṇayogāvali* Relevant portions given in B.T. Bhattacharya's *Buddhist Iconography*

- Panigrahi, K.C. *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, 1961 (1st Pub.)
- Pāṇini *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Ed. and Translated by Sirisa Chandra Vasu, Allahabad, 1891-97
- Pātañjali *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, Ed. by F. Kielhorn (3 volumes), 2nd edition, Bombay, 1892
- Patil, D.R. *The Monuments of the Udayagiri Hill*, Gwalior, 1948
- Pathak, K.B. *Commemoration Volume*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1934
- Purāṇa, Agni* Translated by M.N. Dutta, vols. I and II, Calcutta, 1903-04
- Purāṇa, Bhāgavata* Published by the Gita Press, Gorakhpur, Sam. 2010
- Purāṇa, Bhaviṣya* Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1910
- Purāṇa, Brahmāṇḍa* Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1923
- Purāṇa, Brahmā* Ānandāśrama Sanskr̥ta Series, Poona, 1895
- Purāṇa, Brahmavaivarta* Gurumandala Granthamala Series, Calcutta, 1955
- Purāṇa, Devībhāgavata* Sri Venkatesvara Stream Press, Bombay, Sam. 1982
- Purāṇa, Kālikā* Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, Sam. 1829
- Purāṇa, Liṅga* Ed. by J. Vidyasagara, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1885
- Purāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeya* Ed. by K.M. Banerjea, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1862
- Purāṇa, Matsya* Translation by Ramapratapa Tripathi Sastri, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Sam. 2003
- Purāṇa, Padma* Ed. by M.C. Apte, Anandasrama Press, Poona, 1893
- Purāṇa, Vāyu* Translation by Ramapratapa Tripathi Sastri, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Sam. 2007
- Purāṇa, Varāha* Ānandāśrama Sanskr̥ta Series, Poona, 1905
- Purāṇa, Viṣṇu* Trans. H.H. Wilson, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1961
Translated by M.N. Dutta, Calcutta, 1894
- Purāṇa, Skanda* Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1910
- Rambach, P. etc. *The Golden Age of Indian Art*, Norwich, 1955
- Raychaudhuri, H.C. *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1936
- Rao, T.A. Gopinatha *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (2 vols.), Madras, 1914 and 1916

- Rea, A. *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras, 1894
- R̥g-veda* Sripada Sarma, Aundha Nagar, Bombay, 1940
- Rhys-Davids, T.W. *Buddha Birth Stories*, Pt. I, London, 1917
- Rode, V.P. *A Short Guide to the Central Museum*, Nagpur, 1960
- Roerich, G. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1957
- Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India*, London, 1953
- Sahni, D.R. and Vogel, J.Ph. *A Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta, 1914
- Saksena, B.R. (Ed.) *Dr. Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume*, Allahabad, 1970
- Śāradātīlakatantra* Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 107, Kashi, 1934
- Saraswati, S.K. *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 1st Edn., Calcutta, 1957
- Early Sculpture of Bengal (JDL-XXX)*, Calcutta, 1937
- Sastri, Hirananda *A Guide to Elephanta*, Delhi, 1934
- Sastri, H.K. *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras, 1916
- Sastri, H.P. *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Materials*, Calcutta, 1942 (MASI-66)
- Sastri, K.A.N. *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, Bombay, Calcutta, etc., 1st published, 1957
- Cholas*, 2nd edition, Madras, 1955
- Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* Translated by J. Eggeling (5 volumes), SBE, XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII & XLIV, Oxford, 1882-1900
- Sen, D.C. *History of Bengali Literature*, Calcutta, 1911
- Shah, U.P. *Sculptures from Śāmalajī and Roḍā*, Baroda, 1960
- Sharma, B.N. *Social & Cultural History of Northern India, c. 1000-1200 A.D.*, New Delhi, 1972
- Shere, S.A. *Guide to the Archaeological Section of the Patna Museum*, Patna, 1946
- Shukla, D.N. *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting*, Gorakhpur, 1958
- Sinha, B.P. *Bhāratiya Kalā ko Bihār kī Dena*, Patna, 1958
- Sinha, B.P. & others *Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume*, Varanasi, 1969
- Sivaramamurti, C. *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*, Madras, 1942
- Indian Sculpture*, New Delhi, 1961
- Royal Conquests & Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1964

- Smith, V.A. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1930
Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1906
The Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura, Allahabad, 1901
- Spooner, D.B. *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, Bombay, 1909
- Śrītatvanidhi Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, Sam. 1823
- Stirling *An Account, Geographical, Statistical, Historical of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, Asiatic Researches, XV, Serampore, 1825
- Taittirīya Āraṇyaka Ānandāśrama Sanskr̥ta Series, No. 36, Poona, 1927
- Taittirīya Upaniṣad Trans. F. Max Muller, *SBE*, I, Oxford, 1900
- Takakusu *A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, Oxford, 1896
- Thakore, S.R. *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Archaeological Museum*, Gwalior, Gwalior, o.j.
- Thakur, Upendra *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History & Culture*, New Delhi, 1974
- Thapar, D.R. *Icons in Bronze*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961
- Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā Ed. by V.L. Sastri Pansikar, Bombay, 1912
- Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ed. and Translation by Janaki Das Sharma (2 volumes), Gita Press, Gorakhpur, Sam. 2017
- Varāhamihira *Br̥hatsaṁhitā*, Chapter 57 (in Banerjea's *Development of Hindu Iconography*), and with Bhaṭṭatāpala's Commentary, Ed. by S. Dvivedi, Medical Hall Press, Banaras, v.s. 1952
- Vasu, N.N. *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, Calcutta, 1911 (Vol. I)
- Vats, M.S. *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh (MASI-70)*, Delhi, 1952
- Verma, B.S. *Socio-Religious, Economic and Literary Condition of Bihar (319-1000 A.D.)*, Delhi, 1962
- Viṣṇudharmottara Translation of *Book III, A Treatise on Indian Painting and Image Making* by Stella Kramrisch, 2nd Edition, Calcutta University Press, 1928
- Viśvakarmaśāstra Appendices of Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*
- Vogel, J.Ph. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Calcutta, 1911
Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, Allahabad, 1910

Indian Serpent Lore or The Nagas in the Hindu Legend and Art, London, 1926

La Sculpture de Mathura, Paris and Brussels, 1930

Watters, T. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 vols., Ed. by T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell, London, 1904, 1905

Whitehead, R.B. *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I*, Oxford, 1914

Wilkins, W.J. *Hindu Mythology*, Calcutta, 1882

Yaduvamśī *Śaiva Mata*, Patna, 1953

Zannas, Eliky *Khajuraho*

Zimmer, H. *The Art of Indian Asia* (in 2 volumes), New York, 1955

5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien, Essen, 1959

Ancient India—Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India

Archaeological Survey of India (Annual Report)

Archaeological Survey of India (Cunningham's Report)

Artibus Asiae, Ascona

Bhāratiya Vidyā, Bombay

Eastern Art

East And West, Rome

Epigraphia Indica

Indian Antiquary

Indian Archaeology—A Review

Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajamundry

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta

Journal of the Assam Research Society, Gauhati

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay

Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta

Journal of Indian History, Calcutta

Journal of Indian Museum, Bombay

(Museum Association of India)

Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London

Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow

Marg, Bombay

Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi

Numismatic Chronicle, Patna

Numismatic Supplement

Oriental Art, London

Proceedings of Indian History Congress

Purāṇa—Half-yearly Bulletin of the Purāṇa Department, Varanasi

Lalit Kalā, New Delhi

Roopa-Lekhā, New Delhi

Rūpam, Calcutta

The Researcher— Bulletin of the Rajasthan's Archaeology & Museums, Jaipur

Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, Madras

Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. Nos.

- 1 Marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī,
Gurjara-Pratihāra, 8th-9th cent. A.D.,
Kanauj, Uttar Pradesh.
- 2 Indra, Pāla, 12th cent. A.D.,
Viṣṇupada Temple, Gayā.
- 3 Agni, post-Gupta, 6th-7th cent. A.D.,
Benisagar, Bihar.
- 4 Agni, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 8th cent. A.D.,
Cave No. XVI, Ellorā.
- 5 Yama, Paramāra, 11th cent. A.D.,
Chandrāvatī, Rajasthan,
National Museum, New Delhi.
- 6 Varuṇa, Gurjara-Pratihāra, 9th cent. A.D.,
Madhya Pradesh, Gwalior Museum.
- 7 Varuṇa, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 8th cent. A.D.,
Cave No. XVI, Ellorā.
- 8 Vāyu, Gurjara-Pratihāra, 9th cent. A.D.,
Abanerī, Rajasthan.
- 9 Kubera, Kuṣāṇa, 2nd cent. A.D.,
Mathurā, U.P., Mathurā Museum.
- 10 Gajendramokṣa, Gupta, 6th cent. A.D.,
Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh.
- 11 Varāha, Pāla, 9th cent. A.D.,
Patna Museum, Patna.
- 12 Nāgarāja, Kuṣāṇa, 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.,
National Museum, New Delhi.
- 13 Nāgarāja, Kuṣāṇa, 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.,
Sāñchī, Vidisha, Sāñchī Museum.
- 14 Nāgarāja, Pallava, 9th cent. A.D.,
South India, National Museum, New Delhi.
- 15 Revanta, Gupta, 6th cent. A.D.,
Newal, Unnao, U.P., National Museum, New Delhi.
- 16 Revanta, Pāla, 9th cent. A.D.,
Patna City, Bihar, Patna Museum, Patna.
- 17 Revanta, Chaulukya, 11th cent. A.D.,
Gujarat.

ERRATUM

Read Plate Nos. 15 to 44 as Plate Nos. 16 to 45.
(Plate 15 has been excluded from the text.)

- 18 Kārttikeya, Gupta, 5th-6th cent. A.D.,
Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī, U.P.
- 19 Kārttikeya, post-Gupta, 7th cent. A.D.,
Harikaṭorā, Vaiśālī, Bihar.
- 20 Kārttikeya, Vardhana, 7th cent. A.D.,
Punjab Hills, National Museum, New Delhi.
- 21 Harihara, Gupta, 5th-6th cent. A.D.,
Shahabad, Bihar, Patna Museum, Patna.
- 22 Harihara, Pratihāra, 11th cent. A.D.,
Central India, National Museum, New Delhi.
- 23 Sarasvatī, Pāla, 11th cent. A.D.,
Sundarban, 24-Parganas, W. Bengal,
Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.
- 24 Sarasvatī, Chauhān, 12th cent. A.D.,
Pallu, Bikaner, Rajasthan,
National Museum, New Delhi.
- 25 Dancing Sarasvatī, Hoyasala, 12th cent. A.D.,
Hoyasaleśvara Temple, Halebid, Karnataka.
- 26 Winged-Goddess, Śuṅga, 2nd cent. B.C.,
Vaiśālī, Muzaffarpur, Bihar, Patna Museum, Patna.
- 27 Gaja-Lakṣmī, Gupta, 5th-6th cent. A.D.,
Nālandā, Bihar.
- 28 Gaja-Lakṣmī, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 8th cent. A.D.,
Cave No. XVI, Ellorā.
- 29 Mahiṣamardinī, Guhila, 10th cent. A.D.,
Ambikā Mātā Temple, Jagat, Rajasthan.
- 30 Mahiṣamardinī, Pallava, 7th cent. A.D.,
Mahābalipuram, South India.
- 31 Mahiṣamardinī, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 8th cent. A.D.,
Cave No. XVI, Ellorā.
- 32 Mahiṣamardinī, late Chola, 12th cent. A.D.,
South India, National Museum, New Delhi.
- 33 Chāmuṇḍā, Paramāra, 11th cent. A.D.,
Chandrāvātī, Mt. Ābū, Rajasthan,
Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
- 34 Chāmuṇḍā, Pallava, 9th cent. A.D.,
South India, National Museum, New Delhi.
- 35 Sapta-Mātṛkās, Hoyasala, 12th cent. A.D.,
Karnataka.
- 36 Jambhala, Pāla, 8th cent. A.D.,
Antichak, Bhagalpur, Bihar.
- 37 Jambhala, Pāla, 10th-11th cent. A.D.,
Bihar, National Museum, New Delhi.

- 38 Trailokya-vijaya, Pāla, 8th cent. A.D.,
Kurkihar, Nawadah, Bihar, Patna Museum, Patna.
 - 39 Trailokya-vijaya, Pāla, 10th cent. A.D.,
Bodhgayā, Bihar (Bodhgayā Mahantha Collection).
 - 40 Aparājītā, Pāla, 9th cent. A.D.,
Bihar, Patna Museum, Patna.
 - 41 Parṇaśabarī, Pāla, 9th cent. A.D.,
Kurkihar, Nawadah, Bihar, Patna Museum, Patna.
 - 42 Sūrya, Eastern Gaṅga, 13th cent. A.D.,
Konarak, Orissa, National Museum, New Delhi.
 - 43 Mārīchī, Pāla, 9th cent. A.D.,
Nālandā Museum, Nālandā.
 - 44 Jambhala and Hāritī, Kuṣāṇa, 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.,
Mathurā Museum, Mathurā.
- On Cover : Sarasvatī, Gurjara-Pratihāra, 9th-10th cent. A.D., Suhania,
Madhya Pradesh, Gwalior Museum.

INDEX

A

- Abaneri, 55, 94, 176, 187, 213
Abhiṣatārthachintāmaṇi, 12,
 39, 46, 47, 54, 135, 163, 183
 Abhinavagupta, 134
Abhiṣeka, 112
*Abhiṣeka in Indian Art, Journal
 of Oriental Institute*, 112
Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī, 164, 166, 171
 Abhrarūpa Bhairava, 121
*A Cat. of the Archl. Relics in
 the Museum of the Varendra
 Research Society, Rajshahi*,
 91, 109, 148
*A Catalogue of the Brahmani-
 cal Images in Mathura Art*,
 15, 30, 63, 64, 65, 81, 82, 106,
 111, 136, 168, 169, 184, 185,
 199, 210, 211, 215, 225, 226
A Cultural History of Assam,
 18, 33, 68, 114, 124, 147, 187,
 200
 Adharma, 39
 Ādi Nāga, 28
 Ādinātha, 72
 Aditi, 160, 178
 Ādityas, 45
 Ādityasena, 173
Adyar Library Bulletin, 188
 Afghanistan, 256
Āgamas, 7, 8, 28, 39, 72, 103,
 104, 119
AGBG, 23, 24
Age of Imperial Unity, 60
 Agneyikā, 207
 Agni, 2, 27-36, 46, 100, 101,
 111, 160, 182
 Agnibhū, 101
 Agnimitra, 28, 29
Agni Purāṇa, 7, 12, 28, 32, 35,
 39, 46, 50, 53, 58, 90, 140,
 142, 147, 152, 183, 187, 198,
 200, 203, 204, 205, 209
 Agrā, 213
 Agrawal, U., 150, 151, 175, 176,
 190
 Agrawala, P.K., 112
 Agrawala, R.C., 20, 29, 188
 Agrawala, V.S., 15, 16, 30, 32,
 63, 64, 65, 81, 82, 106, 107,
 109, 111, 136, 145, 159, 168,
 169, 184, 185, 199, 210, 211,
 215, 225, 226, 229, 257
A Guide to Nalanda, 21, 227,
 228, 236, 247, 257
A Guide to Sarnath, 175, 229
*A Guide to the Sculptures in the
 Indian Museum*, 23, 65, 66,
 255
*A Guide to Vaisali and Vaisali
 Museum*, 110
A Handbook of Indian Art,
 65, 168
 Ahichchhatra, 28, 30, 183, 184
 Ahirbudhnya, 74
Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, 76
 Ahura Mazda, 45
 AI, 174, 175, 179
 Aihole, 87, 193
 Aindri, 207
 Airāvata, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20,
 22, 24, 26, 182
 Ajaikapāda, 32
 Ajantā, 87
 Ajmer, 95
 Akota, 72
 Akṣobhya, 223, 225, 227, 228,
 229, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241,
 251
 Alakā, 59, 60
 Alakanandā, 60
 Allahabad, 31, 95, 226
 Allahabad Museum, 40, 42,
 70, 82, 94, 95, 123, 125, 136,
 149, 159, 202, 213, 214
 Allan, J., 28, 29, 104, 105, 108,
 146, 164, 165
 Ālīṅgana Mūrti(s), 19, 20
 Altekar, A.S., 15, 107, 108,
 146, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173,
 174
 Alwar, 187
Amarakośa, 74, 100
 Amarāvati, 166
*Amaravati Sculptures in the
 Madras Museum*, 11, 60
 Amarāvati stūpa, 86
 Āmardaka, 119
 Amber Museum, 115
 Ambikā, 72, 181, 197, 198,
 208, 209
 Ambikā Mātā temple, Jagat,
 189
 Ambupati, 46
 Amer Museum, Jaipur, 176,
 184, 187, 213
 Amitābha, 223, 229
 Amoghabhūti, 164
 Amoghasiddhi, 239, 240, 241
Amśumadbhedāgama, 7, 12, 39,
 54, 60-61, 69, 76, 135, 142,
 163, 199, 209
*An Account, Geographical,
 Statistical and Historical, of
 Orissa Proper and Cuttack*,
 204
 Ananta, 76, 177
 Anantaśāyin, 87, 109, 177
Ancient India, 30, 80, 104, 164
*Ancient Monuments of Bihar
 and Orissa*, 216, 231, 232
Ancient Monuments of India,
 23, 83
 Andhakāśura, 208, 209
 Andhra, 152, 190, 193
 Anila, 27
 Añjani, 53, 56
Annual Report, Eastern Circle,
 147
*Annual Report of the Arch.
 Deptt, Gwalior State*, 188
 Anti, 138

- Antialkidas (Indo-Greek king), 13, 14
 Antichak, 227, 249
Antiquities of Chamba State 186
 Apalāla, 75, 79
 Āpamapati, 46
 Aparājita, 2, 3, 235-237, 260
 Aphṣaḍ, 173
 Apsamāra-puruṣa, 128
 Arabian Sea, 56
 Ārādhana Kathā Kośa, 143
 Arapachana-Mañjuśrī, 192
 Archaeological Museum, Mathurā, 15, 17, 29
Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, 16, 41, 48, 68, 84, 85, 112, 113, 137, 201, 211, 212
Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja, 175, 203, 217, 248, 251
Archaeological Survey Report, Western Circle, 215
Archaeology in India, 194
Archaeology in U.P., 109
A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing, 254
 Ardhanārīśvara, 63, 134, 135, 168
 Ardhanīṣkrānta, 185
 Ardoksho, 169
 Arhat, 46, 60
 Arīhaśāstra, 4, 59
 Arthuna, 202
Artibus Asiae, 188, 193, 195
Art of India, 150
Arts Asiatiques, 31
 Aruṇa, 139, 243, 249
 Āryadeva, 145
 Ārya Mārīchī, 244
 Aryans, 243
 Āryasarasvatī, 143
A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 45, 224
A Short Guide Book to the Archaeological Section of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, 145, 159, 168
A Short Guide to the Central Museum, Nagpur, 140
 Ashton, L., 24, 108, 256
 ASI, 82
 ASIAR, 15, 24, 50, 63, 67, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 102, 104, 107, 109, 115, 124, 147, 157, 158, 165, 166, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 179, 183, 184, 185, 186, 226, 227, 228, 231, 232, 236, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249, 250, 256, 257
 Asita, 74
 Asitānga Bhairava, 121
 Asoka, 4, 16
 Asoka-kāntā Mārīchī, 243, 244, 251
 ASR, 65, 83, 93, 199
 Assam, 18, 84, 114, 124, 147, 181, 187, 198, 200, 228
 Assam Provincial Museum, 33, 68
 Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā, 236
 Aṣṭabhujapīta Mārīchī, 244, 246, 251
 Asthira Bhairava, 122
 Asura(s), 39, 182, 183, 200
A Survey of Indian Sculpture, 67, 108, 191, 193
 Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, 123, 146, 201, 217
 Āśvina, 89, 181
 Āśvins, 89, 149
 Ātānāṣiya Suttānta, 60
Atharva-veda, 45, 59, 74, 160
 Ati-chaṇḍikā, 191
 Atirikāṅga-Bhairava, 122, 129, 130, 131
 Aṭṭahāsa, 204
 Audumbara(s), 104, 106, 116
 Aurora, 243
 Avalokiteśvara, 1
 Avalon, A., 182, 207
 Avasarpinī, 46, 60
 Āvestā, 45
 Āvestan, 37, 160
 Awasthi, R., 19, 20, 42, 49, 58, 68, 69
 Ayodhyā, 104, 165
 Āyudha Devī, 184
 Āyudha-puruṣa(s), 15, 25, 81, 210, 218
 Azilises, 165
 B
 Bacchanalian, 65, 71, 226, 230
 Bachhofer, L., 23, 24, 80
 Badami, 140, 193
 Baḍasāi, 217
 Baḍgāon, 21
 Baḍkāntā, 92, 93, 96
 Bagali, 153
 Baghaura, 202
 Baijnath, 189
 Bairat, 111
 Bajpeyi, K.D., 29, 30, 106, 109
 Bakerganj, 148, 189
 Bāla-Bhairava, 124
 Balabhūti, 164
 Baladeva, 76
 Balarāma, 5, 18, 25, 76, 81
 Bālasvāmī, 104
 Baligaon, 187
 Banaras, 119, 124, 130, 178
 Banerjee, J.N., 1, 6, 8, 14, 15, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 40, 43, 48, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 67, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 90, 91, 92, 96, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 128, 133, 134, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 168, 171, 172, 185, 186, 189, 191, 192, 200, 205, 207, 208, 217, 259
 Banerji, R.D., 23, 25, 48, 68, 85, 90, 91, 148, 177, 227, 232, 242, 250, 257
 Bangarh, 84
 Bangiya Sāhitya Museum, 177, 204
 Bangladesh, 1, 91, 92, 123, 241
 Barakar, 129
 Barhut, 145, 165, 166
 Barth, A., 134
 Barua, B.K., 18, 33, 68, 114, 124, 147, 187, 200
 Barua, B.M., 145, 165, 166
 Barua, K.L., 187
 Basārḥ, 158, 166, 171, 173, 179
 Basta, 177
 Basti, 158
 Baṭuka-Bhairava, 120, 121, 123, 124, 130

- Baṇka Bhairava Kalpa*, 120
 Beal, S., 21, 23
 Belur, 205, 219
 Benares, 79
 Bengal, 6, 32, 50, 73, 84, 91,
 114, 116, 141, 152, 177, 181,
 193, 194, 198, 217, 248, 249
 Benisagar, 31, 57, 67, 109
 Berlin, 23
 Besnagar, 184
 Betna, 191
 Bhadr, 81
 Bhadrā, 60, 169
 Bhadrakālī, 174,
 Bhadrakhoṣa, 165
 Bhāgalpur, 91, 126, 127, 184,
 218, 227, 232
 Bhāgalpur Grant, 18
 Bhagava Nāga, 82
 Bhagavat (god), 173
 Bhāgavata cult, 5
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 59
Bhagvadgītā, 40, 74, 134
 Bhairava, 2, 119-131, 199, 201,
 213, 259
 Bhājā, 25
 Bhandak, 140
 Bhandarkar, D R., 99, 100
 Bhandarkar, R.G., 99, 100,
 102
 Bhārati, 141, 143
Bhāratiya Kalā ko Bihāra kī
Deśa, 21, 30, 136, 147, 227,
 231, 236, 240, 247, 248, 249,
 259
Bhāratiya Vidyā, 32, 137, 138
 Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Vārā-
 nāsī), 34, 108, 110, 111, 158
 Bhārhut, 4, 22, 23, 62, 63, 66,
 70, 77, 78, 144, 145, 146,
 152, 153, 164, 165, 166
 Bhartṭhari, 134
 Bhattacharya, B.C., 1, 21,
 28, 40, 47, 52, 58, 62, 90,
 102, 103, 120, 142, 143
 Bhattacharya, B.T., 1, 223,
 224, 225, 228, 229, 235, 236,
 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245,
 246, 247, 249, 251, 252
 Bhattacharya, D.H., 192
 Bhaṭṭāraka 231
 Bhattasali, N.K., 1, 89, 91, 92,
 114, 120, 123, 128, 145, 148,
 149, 177, 186, 187, 189, 203,
 204, 205, 227, 228, 241, 248,
 249, 254, 257, 258
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, 89, 90, 102,
 191
 Bhayahara Bhairava, 122
 Bhikṣus, 254
 Bhilsa, 185
 Bhilsa Museum, 201
 Bhīma, 53
 Bhīmapur, 175
 Bhīmeśvara temple, Bhīmava-
 ram, 153
 Bhir Mound, 158
 Bhīṣaṇa Bhairava, 121, 122
 Bhītā, 70, 82, 95, 105, 157,
 172, 173, 174, 183, 184, 185
 Bhogavatī, 73, 75
 Bhoja, 151
 Bhojpur, 30, 109, 123, 137
 Bhrameśvara temple, Śrisai-
 lam, 154
 Bhṛkuṭī, 21, 259
 Bhṛngī, 138
 Bhubaneśwar, 16, 19, 21, 25,
 33, 41, 48, 49, 51, 69, 84, 85,
 113, 114, 137, 175, 189, 193,
 201, 211
Bhubaneswar, 33, 49, 112, 113
Bhujavanam, 183
 Bhūmī, 28, 29
 Bhūmī-kampa Bhairava, 121
 Bhūmimitra, 28, 29
 Bhumrā, 16, 25, 40, 41, 43, 67,
 109, 110, 113, 184, 185, 186
 Bhūta-vēṭāla Bhairava, 122
Bibliography of Indian Art and
Archaeology, 29
 Bidyavinoda, 90
 Bihar, 6, 30, 32, 48, 57, 90, 91,
 92, 107, 109, 123, 125, 129,
 138, 139, 141, 152, 166, 181,
 184, 227, 232, 247, 249, 250,
 254, 259, 260, 261
 Bihar stone inscription, 208
Bihar Through the Ages, 21,
 108, 261
 Bijapur, 153
 Bikaner, 149, 150
 Bikaner Museum, 32, 150
 Bimbisāra, 254
 Binyon, L., 149, 151
Biography of Dharmasvāmin,
 260
 'Bizago', 100
 Bloch, T., 68, 91, 147, 158,
 166, 171, 227
 Bloomfield, M., 11, 38
BMC, 15, 99, 100, 106, 165
 Boar incarnation, 74, 83, 84
 Bodhgayā, 5, 16, 22, 23, 25,
 75, 165, 166, 259, 260
 Bodhisattva, 5, 22, 23, 80,
 106
Bodhisttvāvadāna-Kalpalatā,
 254
 Bogra, 148, 177
 Bombay Branch of the Royal
 Asiatic Society, 122
 Brahmā, 5, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31,
 32, 34, 111, 112, 113, 116,
 119, 120, 133, 140, 141, 144,
 168, 182, 192, 209, 235, 236,
 245, 246, 259
 Brahman, 28
 Brāhmaṇa(s), 4, 22, 39, 131
Brāhmāṇḍa Purāṇa, 101
 Brahmanic, 3, 5, 52, 58, 62, 63,
 71, 72, 243
 Brahmanical, 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 15,
 21, 33, 40, 43, 68, 106, 109,
 141, 143, 147, 168, 176, 192,
 224, 227, 230, 237, 241, 260
 Brāhmāṇī, 207, 208, 209, 211,
 214, 215, 217, 218
 Brahmanism, 5, 58, 75, 259
 Brahmanyadeva, 105
Brahma Purāṇa, 101
 Brahmarākṣasa, 122
 Brahmaśāsta, 104, 115, 116
 Brahmaśiraśchedaka, 119
 Brahmaśiraśchedakamūrti,
 119
Brahmayāivarta Purāṇa, 101,
 141, 207
 Brahmeśvara temple, Bhuba-
 neśwar, 19, 21, 41, 42, 48,
 68, 175, 201
 Brāhmī, 145, 207, 211, 212,
 217
 Brhadeśvara temple, Tanjore,
 154

- Brhaspati, 161
Bṛhatsamhitā, 7, 8, 12, 15, 28, 39, 46, 48, 50, 60, 62, 76, 90, 93, 96, 102, 103, 134, 177, 207, 208, 209
 British Museum, London, 14, 128, 148, 151, 256
 Broach, 57
 Buddha, 1, 4, 5, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30, 59, 74, 75, 78, 79, 97, 106, 139, 168, 231, 232, 233, 253, 254, 256, 259, 260, 261
Buddha Birth Stories, 23
Buddhacharita, 74
 Buddhagupta, 171
 Buddhism, 5, 6, 8, 74, 75, 168, 208, 236, 260
 Buddhist(s), 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 30, 40, 52, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 68, 71, 72, 74, 77, 78, 82, 97, 139, 141, 143, 147, 157, 162, 168, 177, 178, 208, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 235, 236, 237, 239, 243, 253, 254, 259, 260, 261
Buddhist Art in India, 23, 77, 79, 80, 225
Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, 176
 Burdwan, 201, 204
 Burgess, J., 83
 Burmese, 129
 Burns, R., 29

C

- Calcutta, 23, 247
 Calcutta Museum, 247
Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, 99, 100
Catalogue and Guide to the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner, 150
Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in British Museum (CCAI), 28, 104, 105, 164, 165
Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath, 124, 147, 185, 229, 249, 250, 257

- Catalogue of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 179
Catalogue of the Sculptures in the Archl. Museum, Gwalior, 69
Catalogue of Varendra Research Society, 215
Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, 21
Cave Temples of India, 175
CCGD, BM, 108, 146
CCIMC, 104
 Central India, 139, 186
 Chakra-puruṣa, 15, 136, 148
 Chakravāka, 77, 78
 Chakrāyudha (Viṣṇu), 19
 Chalukyan, 52, 140, 153, 207
Chalukyan Architecture, 153, 205, 219
 Chamba, 186
 Champa, 184
 Chāmuṇḍā, 2, 3, 197-205, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217
 Chāmuṇḍī, 207
 Chañcharipāsa, 92
 Chaṇḍa (*asura*), 197, 198
 Chanda (distt.), 140
 Chanda, R.P., 114, 128, 151, 184, 188, 200, 204
 Chaṇḍa Bhairava, 121
 Chaṇḍanāyikā, 191
 Chaṇḍa-rūpa, 191
 Chaṇḍavati, 191
 Chanderi, 188
 Chaṇḍī, 182
Chaṇḍī Kalpa, 183
Chaṇḍīśataka, 183
 Chaṇḍogra, 191
 Chandra (deity), 259
 Chandra, P., 42, 70, 82, 94, 95, 123, 125, 136, 149, 202, 213, 214
 Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, 15, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 185
 Chandravati, 43, 202
 Chanhudaro, 102
 Charsada, 23
Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi, 90, 135, 163

- Chauduar, 114
 Chauhan, 96, 149
 Chausatha Yoginī temple, 190
 Chhandaka, 97
 Chhargaoon, 80, 81
 Chhatingram, 148
 Chhatrakāra temple, Gauhati, 18
 Chhāyā, 89
 Chhoti Khatau, 115
 Chidambaram, 26, 35, 44
 Chinese, 14, 254
 Chirāṇḍ, 6, 254
 Chitrāgupta, 38, 39, 42
 Chitrāgupta temple, 19
 Chittagong, 228
 Chittor, 5
 Chola, 195
CII, 107, 173, 208
Classical Age, 108, 173, 183
 Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A., 31
 Codrington, K. de B., 80
Coins of Ancient India, 28
 Colgong, 218
 Conjeevaram, 193
 Coomaraswamy, A.K., 15, 16, 22, 25, 106, 108, 159, 161, 164, 165, 168, 179, 194, 253, 254
 Cousins, H., 153, 179, 205, 219
 Cunningham, A., 22, 28, 29, 59, 60, 62, 77, 78, 93, 105, 144, 247
 Cuttack, 175

D

- Dacca, 149, 177, 187, 227, 241, 242
 Dacca Museum, 1, 91, 92, 123, 148, 186, 187, 204, 227, 248, 257
 Dadhikarṇa (Nāga), 80, 82
 Daitya, 198
 Dākinī, 252
 Dakṣa Prajāpati, 32, 111
 Dakṣasamsthita Bhairava, 122
 Dakṣiṇa Bhairava, 122
 Dames, Longworth, 23
 Daṇḍa, 102

- Dānturā, 203, 204
 Darinda Rasulpur, 187
 Das, A.C., 181
 Daśabhujaśa Mārīchī, 245
 Daśāśvamedhaghāṭa shrine, 200, 216
 Daśavatāra temple, Deogarh, 17, 83
 Dasgupta, C.C., 17
 Deccan, 142
 Deer Park, 79
 Delhi, 158
 Demeter, 14, 59, 256
 Demitrius, 15
 Deogarh, 17, 83, 84, 109, 177
 Department of Archaeology, W. Bengal, 115
 Desai, Kalpana, 138
 Deśika, 104
 Deva-gandharvas, 46
 Devagrām, 217
 Devamitra, 104
 Devapāla, 257
 Devarāja (Indra), 14
 Devas, 39
 Devasenā, 33, 102, 103, 112, 117
 Devasenāpati, 101
 Devatā-mūrti Prakaraṇa, 54
 Devatās, 5
 Development of Hindu Iconography (DHI), 1, 14, 15, 28, 35, 54, 55, 59, 60, 73, 75, 90, 91, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 128, 133, 134, 138, 139, 144, 145, 146, 148, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 168, 171, 172, 185, 186, 189, 191, 192, 200, 205, 207, 208, 217, 259
 Devī, 3, 134, 181, 183, 186, 187, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197
 Devibhāgavata, 207
 Devipurāṇa, 207, 208
 Dhamma, B.L., 34, 176
 Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, 162
 Dhanada, 61, 229, 230
 Dhanagāon, 210
 Dhananājaya, 74
 Dhanapati (Kubera), 5, 59, 60
 Dhanbad, 129
 Dhārā, 151
 Dharatī, 252
 Dharapāla Bhairava, 121
 Dharma, 37, 39, 43
 Dharmapāla, 18, 259
 Dharmarāja, 37, 40
 Dharmasūtra, 99
 Dharmasvāmin, 260
 Dhārvāḍa, 205, 219
 Dhumorna, 39, 42
 Dhuroil, 50
 Dhyāna mantras, 7, 8
 Dhyāni Buddha(s), 72, 192, 223, 227, 229, 230, 235, 236, 241, 252
 Didaraganja Yakṣī, 4
 Digambara(s), 21, 58, 143
 Dikpāla(s), 11, 17
 Dikpālaka(s), 27, 49, 68, 69
 Dikshit, K.N., 18, 40, 48
 Dilwārā, 150
 Dimbha, 228
 Dinajpur, 32, 84, 96, 115, 191
 Diodorous, 59
 Dipaṅkara, 260
 Diskalkar, D.B., 145, 152
 District Gazetteer, Cuttack, 199
 Diwakar, R.R., 21, 108, 261
 Dr̥ghamitra, 164
 Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume, 127, 213
 Dubreuil, G.J., 1, 35, 52, 72
 Dūdhai, 84
 Duladeo temple, Khajurāho, 20, 34
 Dulmi, 186
 Durgā, 3, 134, 174, 181, 182, 183, 194, 197, 214
 Dvārāpālakas, 102
 Dvivedi, H.N., 184
 Dvyāśrayakāvya, 208
 Dvyāvadāna, 224
 E
 Early Gupta period, 32
 Early Indian Iconography, 16
 Early Indian Sculpture, 23, 80
 Early Indus Civilization, 157, 208
 Early Sculptures of Bengal, 17
 East and West, 186, 189
 Eastern Bengal, 1, 241
 Eastern India, 89, 91, 92, 123, 186
 Egypt, 74
 EI, 80, 81, 173
 EISMS, 23, 25, 48, 68, 85, 90, 91, 148, 177, 227, 232, 242, 250, 257
 Ekapāda Trimūrti, 133
 Elāpatra Nāga, 74
 Elements of Hindu Iconography (EHI), 2, 12, 26, 28, 29, 39, 43, 47, 54, 55, 61, 74, 75, 76, 83, 87, 101, 102, 104, 111, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 140, 144, 153, 154, 163, 179, 182, 183, 193, 198, 199, 205, 209, 219
 Eliot, C., 45, 181
 Ellorā, 25, 35, 41, 44, 52, 58, 87, 130, 131, 179, 194, 195, 205, 219
 Epic Mythology, 27, 38, 53, 56
 Epics, 46, 161
 Eran, 84, 175
 Erāpatra (Nāgarāja), 78, 79
 Eravan (Airāvata), 21
 Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique, 232
 Eukratides (Indo-Greek king), 13, 14
 Examples of Indian Sculptures at the British Museum, 149, 151
 F
 Faridpur, 187
 Fausboll, V., 38
 Fergusson, J., 77, 78, 86
 Fergusson, J. and Burgess, J., 175
 Fitz William Museum, Cambridge, 14
 5000 Jahre Kunst Aus Indien, 91, 92, 137, 187, 190, 193, 213
 Fleet, J.F., 107, 173, 208
 Foe-Kone-Ki, 23
 Foucher, A., 23, 24, 79, 168, 223, 232, 255, 256

Foucher, Mme. Bazui, 28
Frederic, L., 26, 87, 193

G

Gaḍādevī, 148
Gaḍag, 153
Gaja-Lakṣmī, 63, 87, 159, 163,
164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169,
171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177,
178, 179
Gajārūḍhaḥ, 61
Gajavāhana, 104
Gajendramokṣa, 83
Gaṇapati, 107, 192, 215, 259
'Gaṇapatisamākṛāntā', 235
Gaṇapatya, 192
Gandhāra, 5, 6, 16, 22, 23, 24,
25, 65, 66, 68, 71, 79, 80, 86,
107, 116, 225, 229, 255, 256
Gandhāran, 65
Gandharan Art in Pakistan,
24
Gandharvas, 34, 37, 60
Gaṇeśa, 1, 3, 21, 109, 175, 176,
210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216,
218, 219, 235, 236, 237, 239,
240, 241, 242, 259, 260
Gaṇgā (Ganges), 27, 32, 47,
50, 87, 100, 101, 144
Gaṇgadhāra stone inscription,
207
Gaṇgaikondacholapuram, 193
Gaṇgaputra, 101
Gangoly, M.M., 91
Gangoly, O.C., 26, 52, 58, 85,
87, 124, 176, 194
Ganymede, 80
Gardner, P., 15, 99, 100, 106,
165
Garhwa, 95
Garuḍa, 77, 80, 86, 107, 135,
138, 139, 140, 148, 172, 174,
177, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215
Gar ḍadhvaḥ, 5
Gauḍa, 146
Gauhati, 18
Gauri, 47, 140, 208, 231
Gautama (Rṣi), 11, 12
Gautamīputra Vṛṣadhvaḥ, 105
Gaya, 20, 33, 69, 93, 94, 138,
261
Gaya and Bodh-Gaya, 165

Gaya Museum, 127, 128
Getty, A., 143, 232, 240, 243,
254, 256
GGC, BH, 15, 107, 169, 170,
171, 172, 173, 174
Ghanaśyāmaji Temple, Nagar,
96
Ghaṇṭaśālā, 152
Ghāsikuṇḍa, 227
Ghatak, Rasika Chandra, 187
Ghāṇnagar, 96
Ghaṭotakachagupta, 171
Ghōranāda Bhairava, 122
Ghosh, A., 21, 227, 228, 236,
247, 257
Ghosh, Mahashaya Mahesh,
126
Ghosundi, 5
Girdharpur, 63
Girdharpur Tīlā, 136
Gode, 142, 146
Gods of Northern Buddhism,
143, 232, 240, 243, 254, 256
Goetz, H., 149
Gomitra, 164
Gosnakhera, 63
Goswami, A., 17, 41, 51, 55,
56, 87, 155, 187
Graeco-Buddhist, 79, 80
Gravelly, F.H., 153
Greek, 13, 14, 38, 45, 59, 78
Ghyasūtras, 7, 73, 160
Growse, A., 63, 64, 81
Grunwedel, A., 23, 77, 79, 80,
225, 240
Guha, 101
Guhyakas, 61, 94, 96
*Guide to the Archaeological
Section of the Patna Museum*,
30, 84, 108, 247, 257
Gujarat, 6, 56, 95, 151
Gupta period, 1, 6, 16, 30, 31,
35, 43, 52, 65, 67, 71, 83,
91, 93, 107, 108, 109, 110,
111, 115, 116, 136, 137, 145,
146, 157, 162, 165, 169, 171,
172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179,
183, 184, 185, 186, 189, 218,
226
Gupta temple, Deogarh, 84
Gurgi, 213
Gurjara-Pratihāra, 41, 51, 55,
56, 71, 115

Gwalior, 6, 173
Gwalior Museum, 51, 69, 115,
137
*Gwalior Rajya men Murtti-
kala*, 184

H

Hackin, 256
Hagāmasa, 164-165
Haihayas, 153
Haimavat, 182
Haimavati, 181
Halebid, 154, 179
*Handbook of the Sculptures
in the Curzon Museum of
Archaeology, Muttra*, 109,
111, 257
*Handbook to the Centenary
Exhibition, Archaeological
Survey of India*, 52
*Handbook to the Sculptures in
the Peshawar Museum*, 24,
256
Hanumant, 53, 56
Hara (Siva), 61, 134, 136, 137,
163, 245, 251
Harappa, 73, 157
Harappan, 3, 4
Hārāvali, 163
Hardy, S., 23, 75
Hargreaves, H., 24, 256
Hari (Viṣṇu), 112, 134, 136,
245, 251
Harihara, 2, 3, 133-140, 259
Harihara temple No. 1, Osiā,
138, 189
Harikaṭorā temple, Basārḥ,
109
Haripur, 189
Hariśaṅkara, 140
Hārītī, 2, 3, 5, 6, 64, 65, 169,
202, 226, 253-258
Hariyaṁsa, 39, 133, 134, 181
Harle, J.C., 35, 195
Haryārdha-mūrti, 135
Hasticharmāmbaradhara
Bhairava, 122
Hathial, 158
Hatimara temple, Nowgong,
187
Havell, E.B., 65, 87, 168
Hāverī, 205, 219

Hayagrīva, 241, 242
HBR, 40, 42, 43, 48, 50, 91,
 92, 115, 123, 149, 177, 186,
 191, 192, 204, 205, 217, 241,
 260
 Hellenistic, 66, 71, 225, 229
 Hemādri, 8, 28, 60, 120, 135,
 142, 175
 'Hemidrachms', 14
 Heroes temple, Karempudi,
 153
 Heruka, 251, 252
 Hesiod, 59
HFAIC, 23, 64, 65, 68, 77, 80,
 194
HIIA, 25, 106, 108, 194
 Himālayan, 62
 Himālayas, 62, 162
 Himavat, 100
 Hinayāna, 254
 Hindu(s), 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 21,
 27, 32, 38, 52, 62, 72, 89,
 104, 117, 139, 141, 145, 157,
 162, 164, 178, 181, 208, 223,
 224, 225, 226, 227, 239, 230,
 231, 232, 235, 236, 239, 242,
 245, 251, 259, 260, 261
Hindu Canons of Iconography,
 103
Hindu Canons of Iconography
and Painting, 12
 Hinduism, 5, 143
Hinduism and Buddhism, 45,
 181
Hindu Mythology, 11, 38, 45
 Hirahadgalli, 153
 Hiranyagarbha, 245, 251
History of Ghanasala, 152
 Hooghly, 217
 Hopkins, E.W., 27, 38, 39, 53,
 56
 Hoyasala, 154
 Hoyasaleśvara temple, Hale-
 bid, 154
 'Huanshi', 253
 Huien-tsiang, 14
 Hūṇa(s), 84, 107
 Hunter, 199
 Huviška, 5, 54, 55, 65, 80, 82,
 99, 100, 106, 116, 134
Hwen Thsang, 75
Hymns to the Goddess, 182

I

IA, 18, 19, 31
 Iasion, 59
Iconography of Buddhist and
Brahmanical Sculptures in
the Dacca Museum, 1, 91,
 120, 123, 128, 145, 148, 149,
 177, 186, 187, 189, 203, 203,
 205, 227, 228, 241, 248, 249,
 254, 257
Iconography of Southern
India, 1, 35, 72
Iconography of Viṣṇu, 138
 Iḍavidā, 59
IHQ, 15, 107, 130, 146, 184
Illustrations of Indian Sculp-
tures, Madras Govt. Museum,
 153
Immortal Khajurāho, 34
 India, 11, 12, 74, 192, 240, 243
 Indian, 5, 6, 13, 41, 58, 73, 80,
 145, 152, 183, 205, 240, 253,
 254, 255, 259
Ind. Arch., 33, 115, 175, 189,
 190, 201, 237
Indian Buddhist Iconography,
 1, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229,
 235, 236, 239, 240, 241, 243,
 244, 245, 246, 247, 249, 252
Indian Elements on Coin
Devices of Early Foreign
Rulers of India, 15
Indian Images, 1, 28, 47, 90,
 102, 120
 Indian Museum, Calcutta, 23,
 32, 67, 79, 85, 90, 91, 92, 96,
 109, 115, 116, 122, 123, 139,
 146, 177, 186, 217, 218, 227,
 232, 240, 241, 242, 246, 247,
 250, 251, 255, 259
Indian Mythology, 38
Indian Sculpture, 41, 51, 55,
 151, 190, 193
Indian Serpent Lore, 74, 77,
 79, 80
Indian Temples and Sculptures,
 26, 87, 193
Indian Temple Sculpture, 17,
 41, 51, 55, 87, 155, 187
Indian Theism, 45
Indian Wisdom, 46

Indo Buddhist, 82
 Indo-Greek, 25
 Indo-Scythian, 165
 Indra, 2, 5, 11-26, 27, 46, 53,
 99, 141, 149, 161, 168, 182,
 209, 235, 236, 245, 259
 Indrā, 213
 Indrajit, 12
 Indramitra, 13
 Indrāṇī, 207, 208, 209, 211,
 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217
 Indrapura, 14
 Indrarāja, 19
 Indrasāila, 23, 24
 Indrāyudha, 19
 Indus valley civilization, 4,
 73, 76, 102, 158, 159, 178,
 208
 Ingholt, H., 24
Introduction of Prapanchasara
Tantra, 207
 Iranian, 166
 I-tsing, 254

J

Jagat, 189
 Jagat Singh Stūpa, 257
 Jahāṅgīra hill, 91, 93
JAHRs, 153
 Jaina(s), 8, 25, 30, 40, 46, 52,
 58, 60, 62, 63, 71, 72, 141,
 143, 145, 151, 157, 162, 178
Jaina Iconography, 21, 52, 58,
 62, 143
Jaina Stupa of Mathura and
Other Antiquities, 25
 Jainism, 62, 75
 Jaipur, 94, 115, 199, 200, 204,
 216, 217
 Jaipur Central Museum, 111
 Jamalgarh, 255
 Jamalpur, 82, 210
 Jambhala, 2, 3, 62, 68, 71, 72,
 223-230, 257, 260
 Jamsot, 125, 149
 Jāṅguli, 235
JARS, 18, 187
JASB, 65, 81, 191, 259
 Jātādhara Bhairava, 121
Jātaka, 4, 21, 73, 162
 Jaunpur, 42
 Jaya, 138, 171

Jayanta, 99
JBRs, 57, 67, 76, 91, 93, 129, 158, 159, 188, 227, 249
JBSP, 204
JBTS, 254
JDL, 67
 Jhalawar Museum, 188
 Jhansi, 17, 84
 Jina(s), 62, 72, 151
 Jinasena, 19
JISOA, 35, 57, 63, 76, 81, 102, 107, 111, 134, 136, 140, 142, 143, 146, 202
 Jñānaśakti, 104
JNSI, 14, 15, 169, 171
 Jodhpur, 130, 189
 Joshi, N.P., 17
Journal of Gujarat Research Society, 20
Journal of Indian Art, 225
Journal of Indian Art and Industries, 256
Journal of Indian History (JIH), 29, 31, 143, 151, 153, 154
Journal of Indian Museums, 125, 130
Journal of the Oriental Institute, 112, 139, 166, 215
JPASB, 90, 91
JRAS, 35
 Julien, 75
 Junāgarh, 173
JUPHS, 31, 63, 106, 136, 145, 160, 184, 188, 226

K

Kabir, H., 194
 Kācha, 169
 Kadamba, 173
 Kadru, 73
 Kāgarolā, 213
 Kailāśa, 59, 62, 65
 Kailāśanātha cave temple, Ellorā, 194, 195
 Kakuni, 111
 Kala, S.C., 31, 40, 159
 Kāla, 39, 119, 182
 Kāla-Bhairava, 119, 201
 Kālāgni, 122
 Kālā-Nidhi, 150
 Kālī, 39, 131, 181
 Kālīdāsa, 59, 101
 Kālīkā, 75, 203, 205
Kālīkā Purāṇa, 89, 90
 Kalki, 90, 91, 93, 97
 Kalmāśgrīva, 74
Kalpasūtra, 162
 Kalyāṇasundara (Śiva), 17, 34, 41, 51, 117
 Kāmadatta, 164
 Kāmadeva, 162, 178
 Kāmakhya hill, 124, 200
 Kamalā, 178
 Kamalālayi, 165
 Kaman, 17
 Kāmapāla Bhairava, 121
 Kāmavachāra Devaloka, 60
 Kamrup, 18
 Kanaui, 17, 41, 43, 44, 51, 55, 58, 70, 71, 112
 Kandarīya Mahādeva temple, Khajurāho, 34, 69, 124, 150
 Kandiur, 35
 Kangra, 50
 Kaniśka, 5, 54, 134
 Kaṅkalī Tīlā, 30, 63, 80, 145, 210
 Kankarbagh, 137
 Kanpur (Cawnpore), 102, 104
 Kaṇṭaravāsini, 182
 Kāpāla Bhairava, 121, 122
 Kāpālamōchana, 119
 Kāpālī, 119, 182
 Kapilas, 260
 Kapilvastu, 24
 Kapiśā, 14
 Karālā, 182
Kāraṇāgama, 7
 Kardama, 46
 Karempudi, 153
 Karkoṭaka, 74, 75
 Karkotanagar, 184
 Karmarkar, A.P., 134
 Kārttika, 157
 Kārttikeya, 2, 27, 31, 33, 99, 117, 208, 218, 259
 Kārttikeyānī, 109, 207, 218
 Kāśī, 119
 Kaśyapa, 73, 77
Kathāsaritsāgara, 208
 Kathiawad, 6
 Kaṭheśvara temple, Hirahadgalli, 153
 Kātyāyanī, 182
 Kauberī, 207
 Kaumārī, 103, 145, 152, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217
 Kauśāmbī, 123, 159, 165, 175
 Kauśikī, 182
 Kauṭilya, 4, 59
K.B. Pathak Comm. Volume, 142
Kena Upaniṣad, 181
 Kendrapara, 248
 Keśava, 5
 Kevala, 210
 Khadirvanī Tārā, 243
 Khajurāho, 6, 19, 34, 35, 36, 42, 49, 57, 68, 69, 85, 174, 175, 178, 179, 190
Khajurāho Kī Deva Pratimāyen, 19, 42, 49, 58, 69
Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance, 150, 151, 175, 176, 190
 Khechara Bhairava, 121
Khila Harivaṃśa, 62
 Khitching, 85, 122, 123, 146, 175, 248
 Kielhorn, 19, 59
 Kinnaras, 49
 Kirāḍu, 129, 130, 131
 Kirttimukha(s), 49, 214
 Kolhapur (Karavira) temple, W. Deccan, 163
 Konch, 261
 Kosam, 158
 Kotah, 43
 Kramrisch, S., 148, 150, 190, 193, 194, 201, 227, 246, 247, 248, 249
 Krauñcha, 101
 Krauñchabhettā, 101, 104
 Krōḍadamstra Bhairava, 121
 Krōḍha Bhairava, 121
 Kṛṣṇa, 18, 25, 88, 134, 135, 182
 Kṛttikā(s), 100, 101
 Kṣamā, 203, 204
 Kṣamādevī, 161
 Kṣatrapas, 164, 165

Kubera, 2, 3, 59, 72, 162,
168, 169, 171, 172, 176, 178,
182, 223, 224, 225, 226,
227, 229, 230, 260
Kuberāchala, 59
Kuberādri, 59
Kubjikā, 203, 205
Kukargām, 81
Kukuśasiddha, 260
Kulapālaka Bhairava, 121
Kulika, 75
Kumaon, 189
Kumāra, 100, 102, 103, 104,
105, 107, 112
Kumāradevi, 174
Kumāra-Kārttikeya, 145
Kumāragupta I, 107, 108, 170,
171, 172, 173, 174, 207
Kumāragupta II, 171
Kumārasambhava, 101
Kumārī, 181
Kumbakonam, 155, 205, 219
Kuninda, 164
Kuntī, 53
Kupiro-Yakkho, 5, 62
Kuraishi, M.M., 216, 231, 232
Kurkihar, 6, 231, 242, 247,
260
Kūrma Purāṇa, 119
Kurukullā, 236
Kuśāṇa, 5, 15, 16, 29, 30, 35, 55,
62, 64, 80, 81, 82, 99, 100,
105, 106, 107, 116, 134, 136,
145, 168, 169, 172, 184, 185,
199, 210, 218, 226, 257
Kutari, 136
Kuṭila Bhairava, 121

L

Lachhhāgir, 31
Lahore Museum, 66, 80, 225,
255
Lakṣaṇā, 186
Lakṣmaṇa temple, Khajurāho,
34, 176, 178
Lakṣmaṇkaṭi, 148
Lakṣmī, 2, 3, 5, 60, 84, 105,
140, 146, 148, 157-179, 207
Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, 177, 178,
179
Lal, Kanwar, 34
Lala Bhagat, 102, 104, 116

Lalitagiri, 84
Lalitavistara, 59, 60, 62, 74,
253
Lalit Kalā, 32, 110, 111, 176,
184, 187, 213
Lāmās, 243
L'art greco-bouddhique du
Gandhara, 79, 256
La Sculpture de Bodhgaya, 22
La Sculpture de Mathura, 15,
24, 63, 65, 80, 81, 82, 83
Late Gupta period, 17
Late Kuśāṇa period, 32
Late mediaeval period, 123
Lauriya, 158, 159
Lauriya-Nandangarh, 158
Lichchhavis, 166
Līṅga, 88
Līṅgapurāṇa, 207
Lingarāja temple, 113, 114
Lippes, A., 193, 195
Locharas, 80
Lohuizen, de Leeuw, 106, 145
Lokapāla, 46
Lokēśvara, 260
London, 113
Longhurst, A.H., 194
Loriyan-Tangai, 23, 79
Loyāṇa Sūtradhāra, 150
Lucknow, 247
Lucknow Museum, 80, 84
152, 159, 168, 247, 250
Lysias, 15

M

'Maacano', 100
Macdonell, A.A., 27, 37, 45,
53, 141, 160
Mackay, E., 157, 208
Macnicol, N., 45
Mādhavapāsa, 189
Madhya Pradesh, 40, 83, 84,
91, 175, 185, 188, 190, 213,
214, 215, 217
Madras Museum, 130, 193
Madurai, 155
Magadha, 253, 260
Mahābalipuram, 87, 179, 194
Mahābhārata, 12, 27, 32, 33,
37, 38, 46, 53, 56, 59, 60, 73,
75, 76, 89, 99, 100, 101, 102,
105, 162, 181
Mahābhāṣya, 5, 59, 99
Mahābodhi, 247
Mahākāla, 232
Mahākālī, 182
Mahākāya Bhairava, 121
Mahākūṭeśvara temple, Mahā-
kūṭa, 153
Mahā-Lakṣmī, 163, 203, 207
Mahāmāyūrī, 14, 100, 105
Mahantha of Bodhgaya, 138,
232
Mahāpadma, 75
Mahāprajāpati, 23
Mahāraudra Bhairava, 122
Mahāsarasvatī, 143
Mahāsena, 99, 105, 106, 107,
116
Mahāvīra, 162
Mahāyāna, 82, 239, 258, 260
Mahendra (Indra), 12
Māhendri, 207
Maheśvara, 209, 231
Māheśvarī, 207, 208, 209, 211,
213, 214, 215, 216, 217
Mahiṣa, 182, 184, 189
Mahiṣamardini, 2, 3, 181-195
Mahiṣāsura, 182, 183, 185,
190, 195
Mahiṣāsura cave, Mahābali-
puram, 194
Mahiṣāsura mardini, 184
Mahiṣāsura nāśini, 181
Mahiṣi, 211
Maholi, 63
Majumdar, B., 175, 229
Majumdar, M.R., 56
Majumdar, N.G., 23, 24, 65,
66, 115, 255
Majumdar, R.C., 11, 45, 49,
60, 91, 99, 102, 108, 153, 183,
191, 192
Makaras, 49
Maldā, 84
Mālwā, 125, 151
Māmallapuram, 87
Mamane-Dheri, 23, 24
Manasā, 73
Manbhum, 186
Mandāra, 74
Mañibhadra, 60
Mañichara, 60

- Mañikanṭha Jātaka*, 77
 Mani Nāga, 83
 Mani-Nāgeśvara Temple, 175
 Mañivara, 60
 Mañjuśrī, 141, 143
 Mantranāyaka Bhairava, 121
 Manu, 89
Manusmṛti, 174
Manual of Buddhism, 23, 75
Mantramahodadhi, 207, 208
 Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank, Purī, 217
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 54, 89, 90, 96, 102, 144, 153, 164, 173, 182, 183, 185, 192, 197, 208, 209, 224
 Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple, Bhubaneśwar, 48
 Mārīchī, 2, 3, 243-252, 260
 Mārīchīpichuvā, 244
 Marshall, J., 23, 24, 66, 76, 105, 157, 185, 255, 256
 Marshall and Foucher, 22, 165, 166, 167, 168
 Martin, A.C., 1, 91, 92
 Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava, 121
Maru Bhārati, 149
 Maruta, 182
 Māruti, 57
 Maruts, 53, 167
MAŠI, 16, 17, 31, 40, 48, 67, 84, 91, 109, 114, 136, 171, 177, 184, 185, 193, 194, 199, 200, 204, 208, 216, 217, 228, 248, 249, 261
 Māt, 210
Mathurā, 29, 30, 106
Mathurā, 5, 6, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 76, 80, 81, 82, 86, 87, 107, 116, 136, 145, 149, 158, 159, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 176, 178, 184, 199, 210, 224, 225, 226, 230, 257
Mathurā ki Mūrtikalā, 17
 Mathurā Museum, 15, 31, 63, 64, 65, 66, 80, 81, 106, 107, 109, 111, 136, 145, 184, 188, 199, 210, 211, 213, 215, 257
Mathura Museum Catalogue, 25
 Mātṛgaṇas, 207, 208
 Mātṛkās, 198, 199, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 215, 216, 218
 Mātṛveśma, 208
Matsya Purāṇa, 7, 12, 28, 39, 54, 61, 75, 101, 103, 107, 135, 141, 163, 183, 198, 203, 205, 208, 209
 Mattamāyūrakas, 105
 Maues (king), 13, 15, 25
 Mauryan, 4, 159
 Māyā, 23, 168
 Māyā Devī, 5, 168
Māyāsaṅgraha, 75, 78
 Mayūra, 182
 Mayurabhañja, 175, 189, 248, 251
Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum, 128, 151, 188
 Mediaeval period, 6, 31, 50, 55, 64, 67, 71, 90, 91, 95, 107, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 122, 124, 127, 138, 152, 162, 164, 175, 178, 193, 201, 213, 218, 226, 247, 259
 Mediterranean, 157
Meghadūta, 59
 Megheśvara temple, 68, 85
 Meru, 101
 Meruvarmana, 186
 Mesopotamia, 157
Metropolitan Museum Journal, New York, 195
 Mīhirakula, 173
Milindapañha, 162
 Minos, 38
 Mishra, Y., 110
 Mitra (deity), 45, 46, 161
 Mitra, D., 33, 49, 112, 113, 175
 Mōdakpṛya Bhairava, 121
 Modi, 125
 Mohenjodaro, 73, 152, 157
Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, 76
 Mohinī, 134
 Monghyr, 126
 Monier-Williams, A., 45, 46, 224
 More Well (inscription), 5
 Motichandra, 160
Mṛchchhakatīka, 208
 Mṛtyu, 39
 Mt. Abu, 150, 202
 Muchalinda, 74, 78
 Mudama, 88
 Muditaḥhadra, 260
 Muir, 46
 Mukhara Bhairava, 122
 Mukherji, R.K., 146
 Mukteśvara temple, 68, 85, 113, 175, 212
 Muktimaṇḍapa (Jajpur), 199, 216
 Muṇḍa, 197, 198
 Muṇḍapāla Bhairava, 121
 Muṇḍeśvari temple, Bhojpur, 30, 109, 123, 137
 Municipal Museum, Allaha-bad, 40
 Munshi, K.M., 17, 18, 41, 44, 49, 51, 55, 56, 70, 72, 84, 109, 112, 138, 154, 155, 158, 165, 179, 187, 190, 194
 Murtaziganj, 159
 Musée Guimet, 81
 Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, 94
 N
 Na-Bhanga, 200
 Nāga(s), 2, 4, 5, 16, 29, 46, 73-88, 179, 223
 Nāga-Ananta, 76
 Nāgadevas, 76
 Nāga-kals, 87, 88
 Nāgakanyās, 73
 Nāga-loka, 73, 77
Nāgapāñchamī, 73, 76
 Nagar, 20, 110, 184
 Nagar, M.M., 106, 213
 Nāgarāja, 77, 78, 87, 88
 Nāgarājñī, 16
 Nāgari, 5, 151, 178
 Nāgārjuna, 82
 Nagaur, 115
 Nāgi, 87
 Nāgini(s), 75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 146
 Nagpur Museum, 140
 Nahar, P.C., 32

Nalakubera, 162
 Nālandā, 6, 21, 67, 82, 91, 92,
 96, 109, 110, 136, 147, 171,
 176, 208, 226, 227, 228, 230,
 231, 232, 236, 247, 260
 Nālandā Museum, 232, 247,
 257
 Nānārūpadhara Bhairava,
 121
 Nanda, 74
 Nandi, 212, 213
 Nandin, 135, 138, 139
 Nārada Kuṇḍa, Mathurā, 31
 Nārasiṃhagupta, 171
 Nārasiṃha temple, Cuttack,
 175
 Nārasiṃhī, 207, 211, 217, 218
 Naravāhana, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66,
 70, 71, 72, 216
 Nārāyaṇa (god), 173, 181
 Nārāyaṇa Pāla, 18
 Nārāyaṇī, 208, 212
 Nārivāhana, 62
 National Museum, New Delhi,
 42, 110, 112, 139, 213, 228
 Nava-durgā, 191, 192
 Navagrahas, 95, 175, 245
 Nāyaka, 155
 Nayasāṅgraha, 163
 Nemād, 215
 Nemidatta, 143
 Nepal, 236
 Newal, 93
 Nidhipati, 59
 Nidhīśa, 60
 Nilakanṭha, 121, 260
 Nilakanṭha temple, Arthuna,
 202
 Nilakanṭheśvara temple, Para-
 nagar, 187
 Niṣpaṇṇayogāvali, 21, 40, 52,
 58
 Niśumbha, 197
 Nityaśoḍaśikārnava, 207
 North Arcot, 179
 North Bengal, 84, 115, 123, 148
 North Bihar, 6
 North-Eastern India, 193
 North Gujarat, 137
 North India, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 25,
 26, 29, 35, 36, 43, 44, 48, 51,
 52, 58, 72, 84, 86, 88, 102,
 107, 117, 120, 122, 130, 131,

139, 140, 152, 154, 155, 166,
 178, 179, 186, 192, 193, 194,
 195, 214, 219, 225, 251
 Nowgong, 187, 200
 Nṛsiṃha, 133
Num. Chronicle, 14, 99, 100
Nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala, 163

O

Oddiyāna Mārīchī, 245, 246,
 251
On Yuan Chwang, 254
Oriental Art, 17
 Orissa, 6, 43, 68, 84, 112, 113,
 116, 140, 146, 175, 184, 198,
 199, 211, 228, 248, 249
Orissa, 199
Orissa and Her Remains, 91
 Orissan, 68, 84, 123
 Osiā, 18, 138, 189
 Osiā Temple No. 9, 68
O.S.T., 46
 Ouranos, 45

P

Pabhosā, 66, 226
 Pacar, 93
 Padma, 75, 178, 228
 Padma (river), 248
 Padmamunḍa, 224
Padma Purāṇa, 7, 38, 73
 Paharpur, 17, 31, 40, 48, 67
Paharpur and Its Monuments,
 17
 Paikpārā, 227, 257
 Paiśāchī, 240
 Paṭiva, 256
 Pāla period, 6, 20, 32, 33, 43,
 50, 69, 83, 84, 110, 125, 126,
 127, 138, 147, 178, 189, 194,
 228, 246, 247, 250, 257
Pāla and Sena Sculpture, 148,
 227, 246, 247, 248, 249
 Pālī, 4, 60, 161
 Palikhera, 63, 64, 65, 81
 Pallava, 87, 194
Pallava Architecture, 194
 Pallu, 149, 150
 Pāñchāla, 13, 25, 28, 29, 165
 Pañchapīra, 251
 Pañcha Viras, 5

Pāñchāyatana Pūja, 134
 Pāñchika, 5, 65, 225, 253, 255,
 256, 258
 Pāñḍava, 53
 Panduā, 84
 Pāñḍughāṭa, 18
 Panigrahi, K.C., 16, 19, 21, 41,
 48, 49, 68, 84, 85, 112, 113,
 114, 137, 201, 211, 212
Pāṇini, 99
 Pāpabhakṣaṇa, 119
 Paramāra, 43, 151, 202
Paramatthajotikā, 62
 Paranagar, 187
 Paraśurāmeśvara temple,
 Bhubaneśwar, 16, 41, 48, 68,
 84, 112, 175, 201, 211
 Paravāṇī, 110, 112
 Parbatīyā, 84
 Pareṇḍi, 160
Parisad Patrika, 109
 Parjanya, 53
 Parṇasabarī, 2, 3, 239-242, 260
Parśvadevatā, 112
 Pārśvanātha, 75
 Pārśvanātha temple, Khaju-
 rāho, 34, 150, 178
 Parthians, 134
 Parvatāvāsa Bhairava, 122
 Pārvatī, 17, 70, 71, 100, 101,
 120, 181, 231, 232, 259, 260
 Pāśī, 46, 47
Pātala-loka, 73
 Pātāñjali, 5, 59, 99
 Pātharghāṭa, 232
 Patil, D.R., 185
 Patna, 32, 137, 158, 159
 Patna City, 94
 Patna Museum, 4, 21, 30, 49,
 83, 84, 93, 94, 108, 109, 125,
 128, 129, 136, 137, 147, 178,
 215, 218, 227, 231, 236, 242,
 247, 257
 Pattan, 56, 57
 Pattiśvaram, 130
 Paulastya, 59
Paurāṇic, 89, 90, 119, 134, 178,
 194, 208
 Pāvakī, 27
 Pavana (Vāyu), 53
 Pavanaputra (Hanumant), 53
 Persian, 37, 166

Peshawar, 66, 192
 Peshawar Museum, 23, 66, 79, 255
 Phuleśvarī Devī, 203
PIHC, 174
 Pileṅga, 254
 Pi-lo-sho-lo (mountain), 14
 Piṇḍola, 254
 Piṅgala, 254
 Piṅgalēkṣaṇa Bhairava, 121
 Piprahwa, 158
 Pitalkhorā, 179
 Pitāmaha Bhairava, 21
Pitṛ-rāja, 38
Pitṛs, 38
 Ploutos, 59
 Pluto, 38
PMC, 54, 55, 165, 169
 Poona, 140
 Porsha, 191
 Post-Gupta period, 1, 66, 71, 110, 123
 Post-Indus, 4
 Post-Vedic, 37
 Potra-kunḍa, 226
 Prachanḍa, 191
 Prachetas, 46
Prāchīna Bhārata, 144
 Prajāpati, 160, 161, 178, 182
 Prajñā, 244
 Prajñāpāramitā, 143, 177
 Prajñā Vasudhārā, 223, 225
 Prakāśāditya, 171
 Prakāśāditya, 173
 Pralayāntaka Bhairava, 121
Prapañchasāraṇtra, 143, 189, 207, 209
 Prasenjit pillar, 78
 Pratihāra, 17, 94, 139, 189
 Prḍāku, 74
 Pre-Aryan, 160
 Pre-Gupta, 1
 Pre-Mauryan, 4, 158, 159
 Pre-Pāla, 216
 Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 52
Proc. of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 23, 24
 Prof. M. Rama Rao's Index, 153
 Provincial Museum, Lucknow, 30

Pryaṇ kara, 254
 Pṛyaṇkara Bhairava, 122
 Pulastya, 59
 Puram̐dhi, 160
Purāṇas, 7, 8, 11, 38, 39, 46, 59, 74, 89, 93, 95, 96, 101, 119, 134, 182, 198, 199, 201, 211, 216
Puratattva Saṅgrahālaya Mathurā ki Parichaya Pustak, 106, 213
 Purī, 49, 52, 113, 116, 200, 217
 Puruṣa, 53
 Puruṣadatta, 164
Puruṣa-sūkta, 53
Pūrvakāraṇāgama, 39, 54, 61, 142, 199
 Puṣan, 161
 Puṣkalāvatī, 165
 Puṣkara, 46
 Puṣṭi, 141, 148
 Puṣyamitras, 107

R

Raghuvainśa, 108, 162
 Rāhu, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249, 250, 251
 Raipur, 190
 Rājagṛha, 83, 253, 254
 Rājagṛha Viṣaya, 171
 Rājanya Jānapada, 165
 Rājārāṇī temple, Bhubaneśwar, 33, 42, 49, 85
 Rājasika Bhairava, 120, 121
 Rajasthan, 6, 17, 20, 42, 55, 68, 91, 94, 96, 110, 111, 115, 130, 138, 149, 150, 151, 152, 176, 187, 189, 202
 Rājghāt, 158, 172, 178
 Rājñā, 102
 Rajouna, 109
 Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, 95, 140
 Rajshahi Museum, 43, 50, 84, 91, 96, 109, 148, 177, 191, 203, 204, 205
Rajshahi Museum Catalogue, 203
 Rākā, 160
 Raktavīja, 197, 198, 208, 209
 Rāma, 53
 Rāmadatta, 164
 Rāmāpāla, 204
Rāmāyaṇa, 12, 27, 32, 46, 47, 56, 73, 99, 100, 162
 Pambach, P., 175
 Rāmeśvara cave, Ellorā, 195
 Rangamahā, 32
 Rañjuvula, 165
 Rao, T.A. Gopinatha, 1, 8, 12, 26, 28, 32, 35, 39, 43, 47, 52, 54, 55, 61, 72, 75, 76, 83, 87, 89, 101, 102, 104, 111, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 140, 144, 153, 154, 163, 179, 182, 183, 193, 198, 199, 205, 209, 219
 Raotal, 84
 Rapson, 14
 Rāṣṭrakūṭa(s), 41, 58, 195
 Ratnagiri, 237
Ratnakūṭa-sūtra, 255
 Ratnasambhava, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 236
 Ratnodadhi, 261
 Raudri, 207, 215
 Raurava, 38
 Ravi, 95
 Ray, N.R., 49, 108
 Rea, A., 152
Religion of the Veda, 11, 38
 Revanta, 2, 21, 89-97
 Rewa, 213, 214
 Rddhī, 60, 61, 69, 176
Rg-veda (RV), 11, 16, 27, 35, 37, 46, 53, 56, 59, 74, 133, 141, 160, 161, 167, 168, 178, 181, 259
 Rhys Davids, T.W., 23
 Rk, 160
 Rode, V.P., 140
 Rohtak (Rohitaka), 100, 105
Roopa-Lekhā, 42, 138, 186, 189
 Roth, 46
 Rothenstein, 151
 Rowland, B., 23, 25
Royal Conquests & Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan, 195
 Rṣi(s), 100, 126, 133
 Rudra, 101, 102, 119, 181
 Rudra Bhairava, 121
 Rudra Chāmuṇḍā, 203
 Rudra-Chaṇḍa, 191

- Rudra Charchikā, 203
 Rudra-Keśava, 140
 'Rudra-putra', 101
Rudra-Yāmala, 121
 Rupam, 108
Rūpamaṇḍana, 8, 54, 61, 120, 135, 142, 183, 209
Rūpāvatāra, 8, 13, 39, 47, 54, 135, 183
 Rūpa Vidyā, 203, 204
 Ruru Bhairava, 121
 Rustam, 79
- S**
- Sa'adabad Pargana, 81
SAB, 199
Śabdakalpadruma, 89, 163
 Sacharāchara Bhairava, 121
 Śachi, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22
 Śaḍānana, 101, 105, 117
Sādhana-mālā, 208, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 232, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 250
*Sādhana*s, 8
 Sadiya, 147
Saga of Indian Sculpture, 17, 18, 41, 44, 49, 51, 55, 70, 72, 84, 109, 112, 138, 154, 155, 158, 165, 179, 187, 190, 194
 Sagar, 84, 175
 Sahibganj, 48
 Sāhitya Pariśat Collection, Dacca, 242
 Sahni, Birbal, 105
 Sahni, D.R., 124, 147, 185, 229, 249, 250, 257
 Sahri-Bahlol, 66, 79, 256
 Śaiva(s), 2, 134, 192, 260
Śaiva-Mata, 101, 102
 Śaivite, 129, 134
 Śaka, 166
Sakka-panha-suttanta, 23
 Śakra (Indra), 21, 22, 24
 Śakta, 3, 164, 186
 Śakta Tantras, 7
 Śakti, 1, 144, 145, 153, 154, 155, 181, 184, 188, 208, 218, 260
 Śaktidhara, 104
 Śaktism, 181, 193
- Śākya, 60
 Śalilarāja, 46
 Śalilendra, 46
 Samāchāradeva, 146
 Samāchāradeva Narendrāditya, 171
Samāgamana janānām, 37
 Samajñā, 89, 96
Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra, 12, 103
 Śāmba, 107
 Saṁbhāra Bhairava, 121, 122
Saṁhitās, 7, 39, 160
 Saṁkarṣaṇa, 5, 76
 Saṁkṣipta Mārīchī, 244
 Samudragupta, 145, 148, 169, 170, 174
 Saṁvara, 251
 Sāñchī, 4, 16, 22, 25, 77, 78, 79, 165, 166, 167, 172
 Sanghao, 80
 Śaṅkara, 119, 122, 134, 135
 Śaṅkhamuṇḍa, 224
 Śaṅkhaṇḍa, 75
 Śaṅkisā, 158
Śaṅkha-puruṣa, 49
 Śaṁmukha, 99, 101, 104
 Śaṁmukha Skanda, 115
 Śānti, 5, 22, 25
 Śāntideva, 252
 Sapta-Mātṛkā(s), 2, 3, 107, 145, 152, 205, 207-219, 260
 Śārādā, 141
 Śarabheṣa, 133
Śārādātīlakantra, 120, 143, 152, 198
 Śarajanaman, 101
 Saran, 254
 Saranyu, 37
 Sarasvati, 2, 3, 141-155, 160, 161, 175, 178, 207, 260
 Sarasvatī Bhandar, Kotah, 111
 Saraswati, S.K., 17, 67, 108, 191, 193
 'Śaravaṇa', 101
 Śaravaṇabhava, 104
Sarnath, 229
 Sārṇāth, 6, 24, 108, 124, 147, 173, 185, 229, 230, 249, 250
 Sārṇāth Museum, 33, 91, 175, 250, 257
 'Sarpabali', 73
- Sarparājas, 74
 Sarvabhūtaḥṛdisthita Bhairava, 122
 Sarvadevēśa Bhairava, 122
 Sarvajña, Bhairava, 122
 'Sarvamāripraśamani', 240
 'Sarvaśavaṇam bhagavati', 240
Sarvāstivāda, 253
 Śaśāṅka, 146, 171
 Śaśibhūṣaṇa Bhairava, 122
 Sastri, H. Krishna, 1
 Sastri, K.A.N., 154
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 141, 148-149, 160, 161
 Satna, 217
 Sātvika Bhairava, 120
 Satyavāna, 38
 Saura, 192
Saura Purāṇa, 101
 Śavaras, 240
 Savarṇa, 89
 Savitr, 161
 Śāvitṛī, 38
 Sawar, 95
Sculptures greco-bouddhique de Hackin, 256
Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, 40, 159
 Scythians, 134
 Seal, S.C., 144
 Semitic, 45
 Sena, 6
 Senāni, 104
 Senāpati, 104
 Seraikela, 215
 "Serpent Queen", 16
 Śeṣa, 74, 76, 83, 84, 87, 182
 Śeṣa-Ananta, 74
 Śeṣa-śāyin, 17, 84
 Seshadri, M., 184, 193
 Shah, U.P., 150
 Shahabad, 30
 Sharma, B.N., 17, 42, 91, 93, 95, 96, 110, 112, 138, 139, 149, 150, 151, 166, 176, 186, 189, 202, 213
 Shere, S.A., 84, 108, 247, 257
 Shukla, D.N., 12, 103
 Sibsagar, 147
 Siddha Chāmuṇḍa, 203, 204
 Siddhanātha temple, Nemād, 215

- Siddha Yogeśvarī, 203, 204
 Siddheśvara temple, 114
 Śikhivāhana, 104
 Sikri, 255
Śilparatna, 39, 54, 61, 75, 136, 144, 152, 163, 183, 209
Śilpaśāstras, 7
 Simhanāda, 260
 Simhavāhinī, 175, 179, 215
 'Sindhu-pati', 46
 Singhbhum, 31, 57, 67, 109, 215
 Sinha, B.P., 21, 30, 109, 136, 147, 227, 231, 236, 240, 247, 248, 249, 259
 Sinivālī, 160
 Si-pi-to-fatzu, 14
 Siri, 162, 165
Sirikālakaṇṇi Jātaka, 162
 Sirimā-devatā, 165
 Siri-mātā, 162
 Sirpur, 190
 Śiśireśvara temple, Bhubaneśwar, 84, 85
 Sita, 53
 Śitalā, 241, 242
 Sita Mārīchī, 251
 Sitoha tank, 226
 Śiva, 1, 2, 4, 17, 18, 20, 27, 31, 32, 41, 51, 52, 55, 58, 59, 70, 71, 74, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 119, 125, 128, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 144, 153, 154, 155, 160, 181, 182, 192, 199, 208, 209, 213, 218, 231, 232, 245, 260
 Śivadatta, 164, 165
 Śiva-dūti, 204
 Śiva-liṅga, 259
 Śiva-Lokeśvara, 139
 Śiva-Nārāyaṇa, 135
Śiva Purāṇa, 112, 119, 122
 Sivaramamurti, C., 11, 21, 41, 51, 55, 56, 60, 151, 195
 Śiva temple, Bhumrā, 40, 109
 Śiva temple, Chidambaram, 43
 64-Bhairavas, 120, 121
 Siyamaṅgalam, 179
 Skanda, 33, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 112
 Skandagupta, 107, 171, 173, 208
 Skanda-Kārttikeya, 27, 32, 33
Skanda-Kārttikeya, 112
 Skanda-Kumāra, 106, 116
Skanda Purāṇa, 144, 207
 'Skando Komaro Bizago', 99
 'Skando Komaro Bizago Maacano', 100
 Smith Gove, 145
Smithsonian Misc. Collection, 16
 Smith, V.A., 23, 24, 25, 30, 64, 65, 66, 68, 77, 80, 104, 145, 146, 194
Smrtis, 7, 134
Social and Cultural History of Northern India, 150
Socio-Religious, Economic and Literary Condition of Bihar, 248, 249, 259
 Seqāsa, 5, 165
 Sohoni, S.V., 27
 Soma, 46, 53, 160
 Soppārā, 138
 South Gujarat, 138
 South India, 1, 52, 26, 35, 36, 44, 52, 58, 72, 86, 87, 88, 90, 102, 104, 116, 117, 130, 140, 152, 155, 179, 187, 194, 195, 205, 219
South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, 152
South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses, 1
 Spooner, D.B., 24, 236, 256
 Śrāvaṇa, 73
 Śrāvasti, 24
 Śrī, 160, 161, 162, 165, 173, 174, 178
 Śrī-Lakṣmī, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 173, 178, 179
Śrī-Māṣikā-Chandī, 186
 Śrīraṅgam, 155
 Śrī-sūkta, 161, 178
Śrītattvanidhi, 13, 39, 54, 119, 120, 209
 Srivastava, V.S., 150
 Śṛṅgi, 138
 Śruta-devatās, 141
 Śrutadevī, 143, 145
 State Museum, Lucknow, 95
 Stirling, A., 204
Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, 42, 70, 82, 94, 95, 123, 125, 136, 149, 202, 213, 214
Struggle for Empire, 49
 Stuart Bridge Collection, 188
 Stūpa Mound, Antichak, 227, 249
 Subbaya, G.V., 152
 Śubhvastu, 75
 Subrahmaṇya, 99, 104, 116, 117
 Suja (Śachi), 21
 Sultanganj, 91, 93, 96
 Śumbha, 197, 208
 Śuṅga, 4, 20, 159, 165, 166, 184
 Sun temple, Osiā, 18
Suppl. Cat. of the Archl. Collection in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 68, 91, 227
Suprabhedāgama, 7, 12, 39, 47, 54, 61
 Suranyu, 89
 Surasā, 73
 Sureṇu, 89
 Sūrya, 1, 27, 39, 89, 90, 91, 96, 97, 102, 107, 133, 139, 192, 243, 259, 260
 Sūrya-Lokeśvara, 139
 Sūryamitra, 164
 Sūtradhāra Kela, 150
 Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana, 8
Sūtra Pīṭakaṃ, 254
Suttānīpāta, 62
 Svachchhanda Bhairava, 121
 Svāhā, 27, 28, 32, 100, 101
 Svāmi Nāga, 82
 Svarṇākaraṣaṇa-Bhairava, 120, 121
 Śvetāmbara(s), 21, 58, 143, 145
 Śvetavat (Indra), 14, 15
 Śvetavatālaya, 14
Śyāma Jātaka, 22

T

- Tahkal, 66
Taittirīya Aranyaka, 161, 181
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 181
Taittirīya Upaniṣad, 161
 Takakusu, 254

Takht-i-Bāhi, 255, 256
 Takṣaka, 74, 75
 Tāmasika Bhairava, 120, 121
 Tāmreśvarī temple, Sadiya, 147
 Tanjore, 154
 Tantras, 7, 8, 103, 104
 Tantrasāra, 182
 Tāntric, 202, 208, 217
 Tāntrism, 198
 Tārā, 243, 260
 Tārai, 15
 Tāraka, 101
 Tārakāri, 101, 104
 Tārakāri-Subrahmaṇya, 117
 Tārakāsura, 117
 Tāranātha, 260
 Taxila, 5, 102, 107, 158, 178, 256
Temples and Sculptures at Bhubaneswar, 42
 Tezpur, 147
 Thakore, S.R., 69
The Age of Imperial Kanauj, 91, 153, 191, 192
The Age of Imperial Unity, 99, 102
The Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, 149
The Art and Architecture of India, 23, 25
The Art of India, 194, 201
The Art of India and Pakistan, 24, 108, 256
The Art of Indian Asia, 26, 52, 66, 161, 168, 190, 193, 194, 195, 254
The Art of the Chandelas, 85, 124, 176
The Art of the Pallavas, 194
The Art of the Rashtrakūṭas, 26, 52, 58, 87
The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, 168, 255, 256
The Buddhist Art of Gandhara, 23, 66, 255, 256
The Cholas, 154
The Coinage of the Gupta Empire, 146
The Darker Side of the Dawn, 16
The Dhamnar Caves and Monolithic Temple of Dharmathana, 197

The Eastern Art, 161, 164, 165
The Golden Age of Indian Art, 175
The Gupta Empire, 146
The Ideals of Indian Art, 87
The Jaina Iconography, 40
The Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura, 30, 145
The Monuments of Sāñchi, 22, 165, 166, 167, 168
The Monuments of the Udayagiri Hill, 185
The Religions of India, 134
The Researcher, 91, 95, 115
The Scythian Period, 106, 145
The Stūpa of Bhārhut, 22, 59, 62, 77, 78
 Tilpat, 158
 Tippera, 92, 187
 Tiraśchirāji, 74
 Tirthika, 260
 Tirumala Nāyaka, 155
 Tirupparankunram, 117
 Toramaṇa, 84
 Trailokya-vijaya, 2, 3, 231-233, 260
 Travancore, 35
Travel of Fah-hian, 23
Tree and Serpent Worship, 77, 78, 86
 Tṛnētra Bhairava, 122
 Tṛpurāntaka, Bhairava, 122
 Tṛṣalā, 162
 Turushka, 260
 Tvaṣṭṛ, 37, 53, 161
 Tyche, 14

U

Ubhayavarāhānana Mārīchi, 244, 250, 251
 Uchchaiśravā, 162
 Uchchuṣma, 228, 229, 230
 Udakapati, 46
 Udayagiri, 83, 185, 228
 Ugra-chaṇḍikā, 191
 Ujani, 248
 Ujjain, 137
 Ujjaini, 104, 164, 165
 Umā, 41, 51, 52, 55, 58, 134, 181
Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume, 20, 50, 69

Unmatta Bhairava, 121, 122
 Unnao, 93
 Upananda, 74
Upaniṣads, 4
 Upāya, 244
 Upendra, 18
 Uruvilva, 77, 79
 Uṣas, 168
 Utpala, 207
 Uttamadatta, 164
 Uttarakuru, 60
 Uttareśvara, 113
 Uttar Pradesh, 91, 93, 95, 102, 110, 112, 249

V

Vāc, 181
 Vāch, 141
 Vadāli, 243, 244
 Vāgdevī, 141, 151
 Vāgiśvarī, 141
Vaikhānaśāgama, 7
 Vaināyaki, 207
 Vairochana, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252
 Vaiṣṇava(s), 2, 84, 107, 133, 134, 173, 179, 192, 260
 Vaiṣṇavī, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216
 Vaiṣṇavism, 173
Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems, 99, 100
 Vaiśravaṇa, 59, 60
 Vaitāl Deul, 85, 137, 189, 190, 193, 212
 Vaitarnī (river), 38
 Vaivasvant, 37
Vājasaneyi Samhitā, 141, 161, 181
 Vajradhātviśvarī Mārīchi, 245
 Vajrahasta Bhairava, 121
 Vajrahaukara, 260
 Vajrapāṇi, 256
 Vajrapāṇi Yakṣa, 15
 Vajrāsana, 260
 Vajrāsana Buddha, 154
 Vajrasāradā, 143
 Vajrasarasvatī, 143
 Vajravārāhi, 251, 252
Vajravārāhi-tantra, 252
 Vajravetāli, 245, 246

Vajravijñāsarvasvatī, 143
 Vajrayāna, 6, 8, 192, 260
 Valli, 112
 Vāmana, 136
Vāmana Purāṇa, 133, 182, 183
 Vāmana temple, 150, 176
 Vāṇī, 141
 Varada Bhairava, 122
 Varāha, 83, 136
 Varāhamihira, 7, 207, 208
 Varāhamukhī, 243, 244
Varāha Purāṇa, 54, 101, 119, 182, 183, 208
 Vārāhī, 202, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218
 Varāli, 243, 244
 Vārāṇasī, 119
 'Vārāṇasyādhisthānādhikarāṇa', 172
 Varendra Research Society Museum, 42, 109, 215
 Vārendra Sāhitya Pariṣat Museum, 217
 Varttālī, 243, 244, 245
 Varuṇa, 2, 38, 40, 45-52, 160, 167, 182, 228
 Vārūṇī, 207
 Vāsini, 160
 Vasu, N.N., 175, 203, 217, 248, 251
 Vāsudeva, 5, 173
 Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, 80
 Vasudhārā, 202, 223, 224, 225, 229
 Vāsuki, 74
 Vāta, 53, 54
 Vafukanāyaka Bhairava, 122
 Vāyavī, 54, 56, 57
 Vāyu, 2, 53-58
Vāyu Purāṇa, 101
 Veda(s), 4, 7, 27, 38, 45, 46, 47, 74, 99, 119
 Vedānta, 134
 Vedāntic, 134
 Vedic, 2, 8, 21, 27, 28, 38, 45, 46, 53, 56, 74, 89, 141, 158, 160, 164, 178
Vedic Age, 11, 45
Vedic Mythology, 27, 37, 45, 53, 141, 160

Vedism, 192
 Verma, B.S., 248, 249, 259
 Victoria and Albert Museum, 256
 Vidyādevī, 141, 143
 Vidyādhara(s), 18, 49, 148, 150, 188, 212
 Vighnāntaka, 260
 Vighnasantuṣṭa Bhairava, 121
 Vijayā, 138, 182
 Vijayamitra, 104
 Vajrayoginī, 241
 Vikrampur, 241
 Vimala, 140
 Vimala Vasāhi temple, Dil-wārā, 150
 Viṇāpāṇī, 141, 146
 Vināyaka, 211
Vinayapiṭakaṃ, 253
 Vindhyas, 105, 181
 Vindhyavāsini, 181
 Virābhadrā, 107, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 218, 219
Virābhūma Vivarṇa, 203
 Vireśvara, 212, 218
 Virajā, 184
 Virāṭa-mūrti, 56
 Virūpākṣa Bhairava, 121
 Viśkāha, 99, 100, 106, 116
 Viśākhadeva, 165
 Viśālākṣa Bhairava, 121, 122
 Visalanagar, 137
 Viṣṇa, 60
Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, 110
 Viṣṇu, 1, 2, 5, 15, 17, 18, 35, 46, 56, 63, 74, 76, 83, 84, 90, 91, 112, 121, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 147, 148, 152, 160, 162, 163, 168, 173, 174, 177, 178, 179, 182, 192, 209, 245, 259, 260, 261
Viṣṇudharmottara, 7, 13, 28, 39, 42, 47, 49, 51, 54, 55, 61, 76, 78, 90, 102, 103, 120, 135, 142, 163, 174, 183, 198
 Viṣṇuism, 134
 Viṣṇumitra, 164
 Viṣṇupada temple, Gayā, 20, 33, 43, 69, 84
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 7, 38, 59, 73, 89
 Viśrāvas, 59

Viśvakarmā, 89, 182
Viśvakarmaśāstra, 163, 209
Viśvakarmā-śilpaśāstra, 183, 198
 Viśvanātha temple, 150
Viśvantra Jātaka, 22
 Viśvarūpa Bhairava, 121
 Vivahvant, 37
 Vivasvant, 37, 89
 Vogel, J.Ph, 15, 24, 25, 63, 65, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 186
VRS Report, 191, 204
 Vṛtra, 11
Vṛtra-han, 11
VSP Catalogue, 204
 Vyantara, 2

W

Watters, T., 14, 254
 Wessawano, 59
 Whitehead, R.B., 14, 54, 55, 165, 169
White King Sale Catalogue, 165
 Wilkins, W.J., 11, 38, 45

Y

Yaduvamśi, 101, 102
 Yajñapurūṣa (Viṣṇu), 35
Yajur-veda, 74
 Yakṣa(s), 4, 5, 15, 29, 59, 60, 61, 62, 97, 171, 172, 179, 224, 225
Yakṣa mithuna, 166
Yakṣas, 253, 254
 Yaksendra, 60
 Yakṣeśa, 162
 Yakṣī, 253, 254
 Yakṣiṇī(s), 4, 172, 224
 Yakṣis, 60
 Yama, 2, 37-44, 46, 48, 89, 182, 201
 Yameśvara, 113
 Yamī, 37, 89, 207
 Yamunā, 5, 47, 65, 89, 144
 Yaudheya(s) 105, 106, 115, 116

Yima, 37
 Yimeh, 37
 Yogešvari, 209
 Yogin, 128
 Yōgiša, 122
 Yusufzai, 78

Z

Zannas, Eliky, 34, 178
 Zeus, 13, 14, 25, 80
 Zeus-Indra, 14
 Zimmer, H., 26, 52, 66, 161,
 168, 190, 193, 194, 195, 254
 Zoroastrian, 54



Fig 1



Fig 5



Fig 2



Fig 3



Fig 4



Fig 6

Fig 8



Fig 7

Fig 9





Fig 12



Fig 13



Fig 14



Fig 16



Fig 17



Fig 21



Fig 10



Fig 11



Fig 19

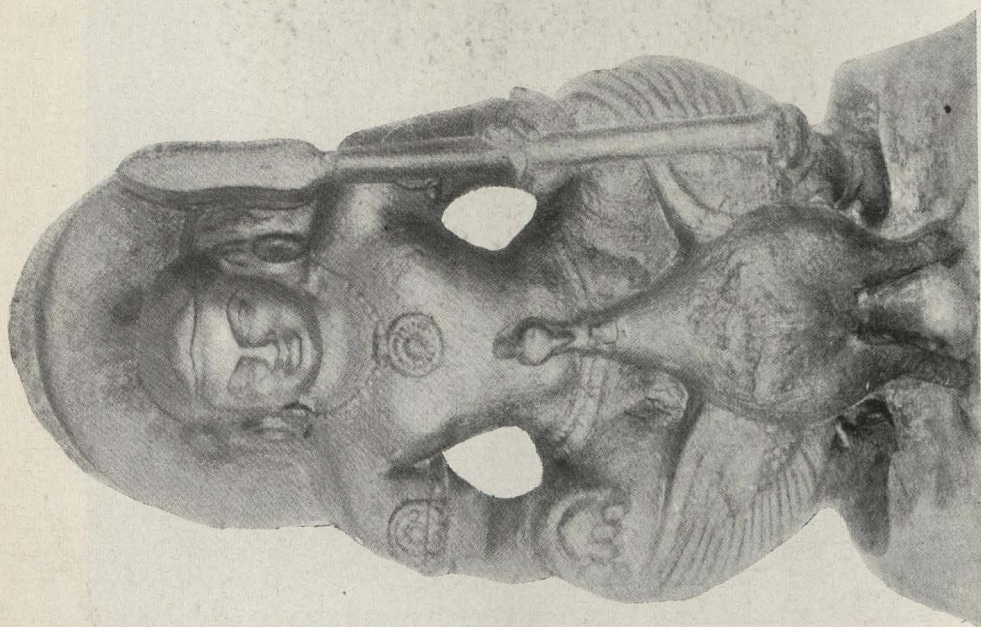


Fig 20



Fig 23



Fig 22

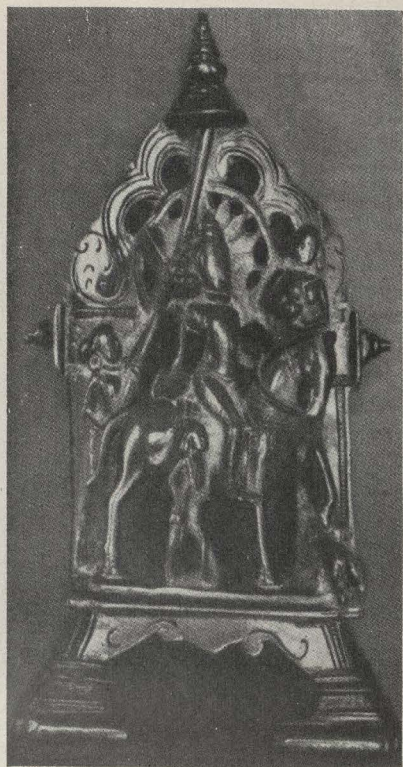


Fig 18



Fig 24

Fig 26



Fig 28





Fig 27



Fig 29

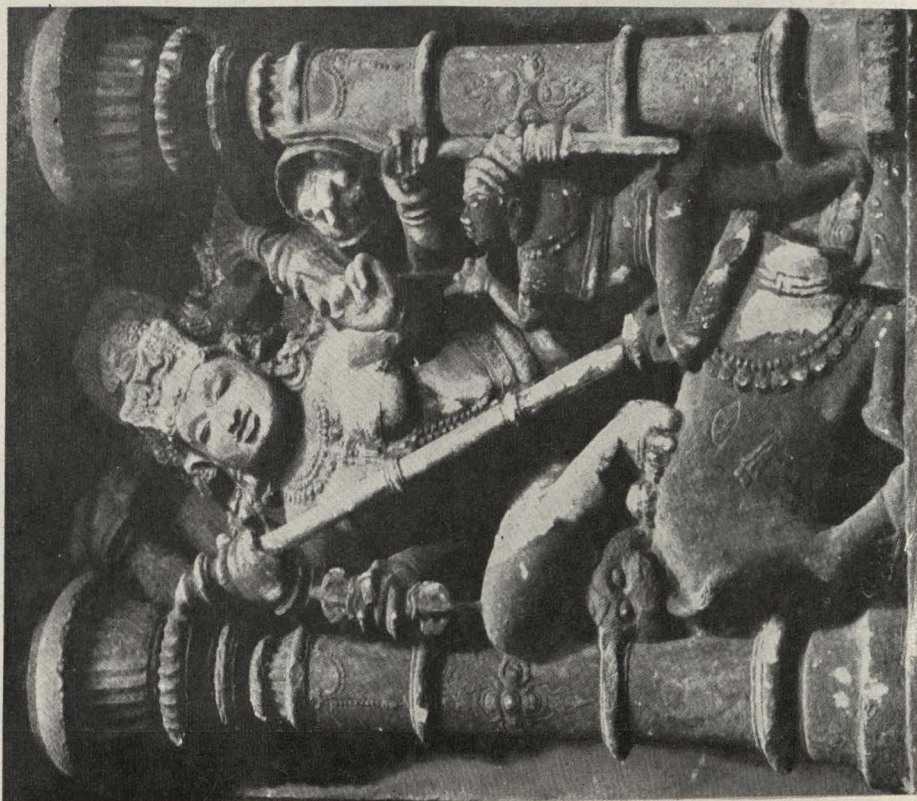


Fig 30



Fig 32

Fig 31

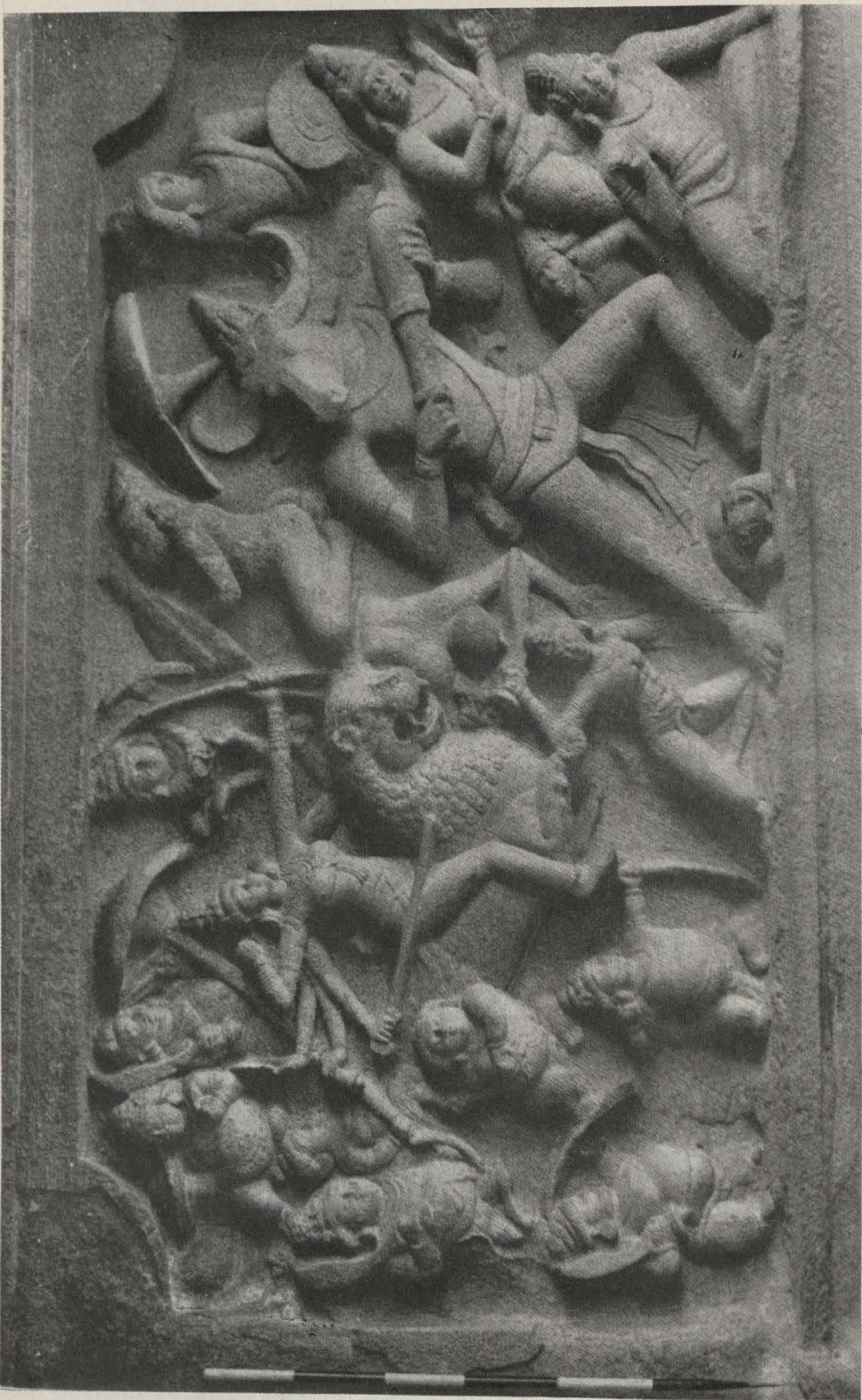


Fig 33

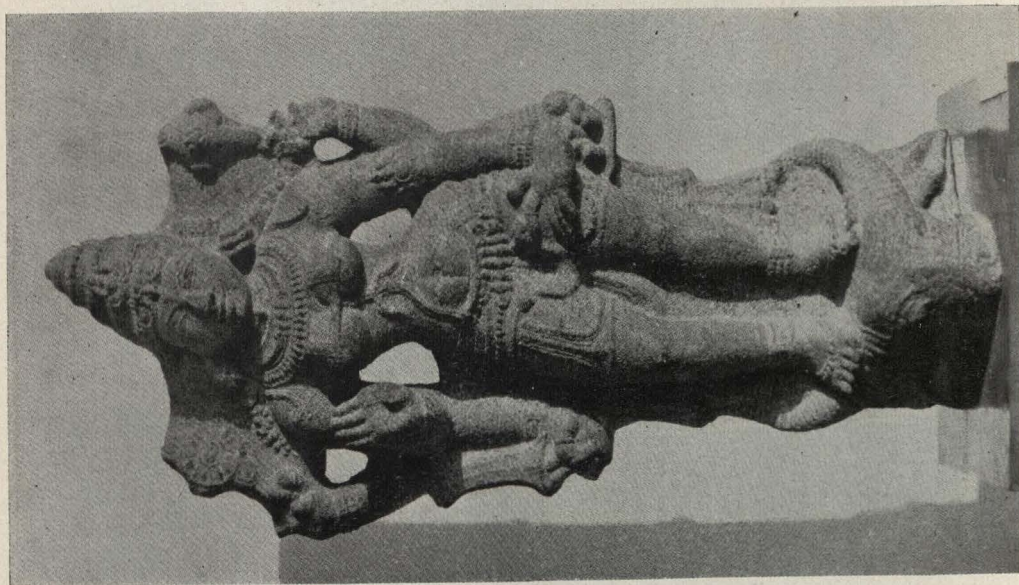


Fig 34





Fig 35

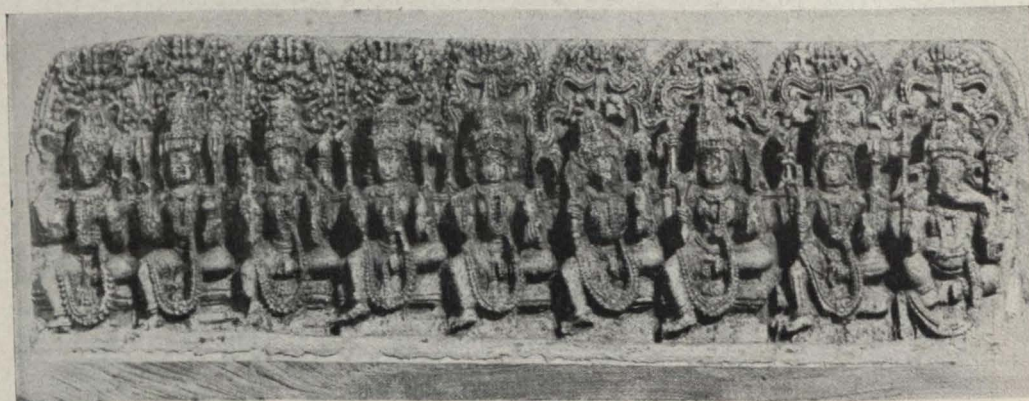


Fig 36



Fig 38



Fig 37

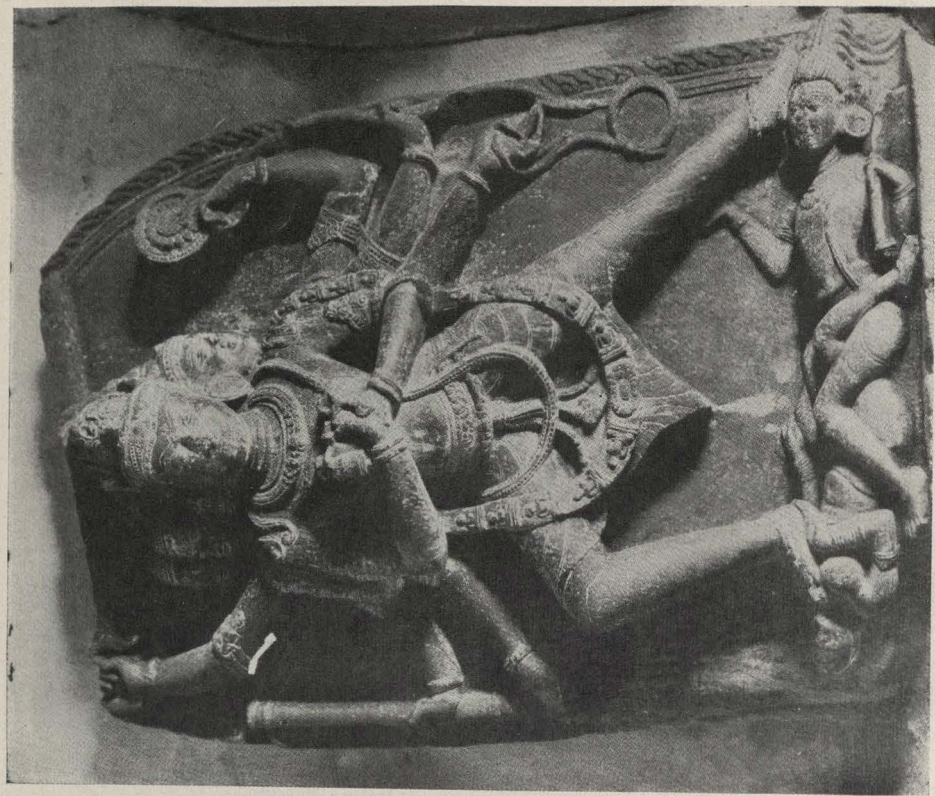


Fig 40

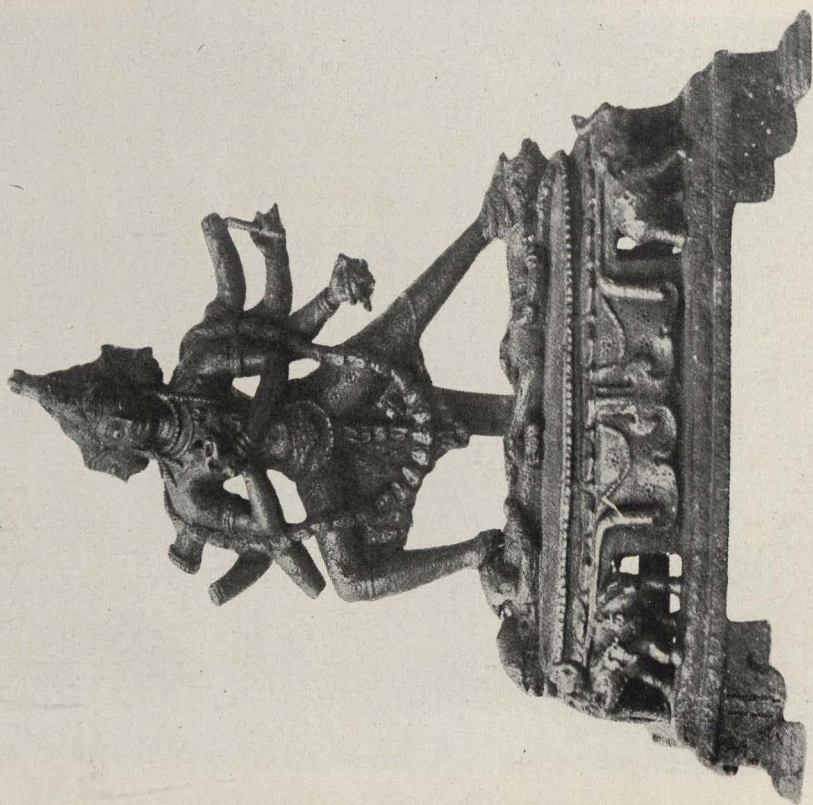


Fig 39

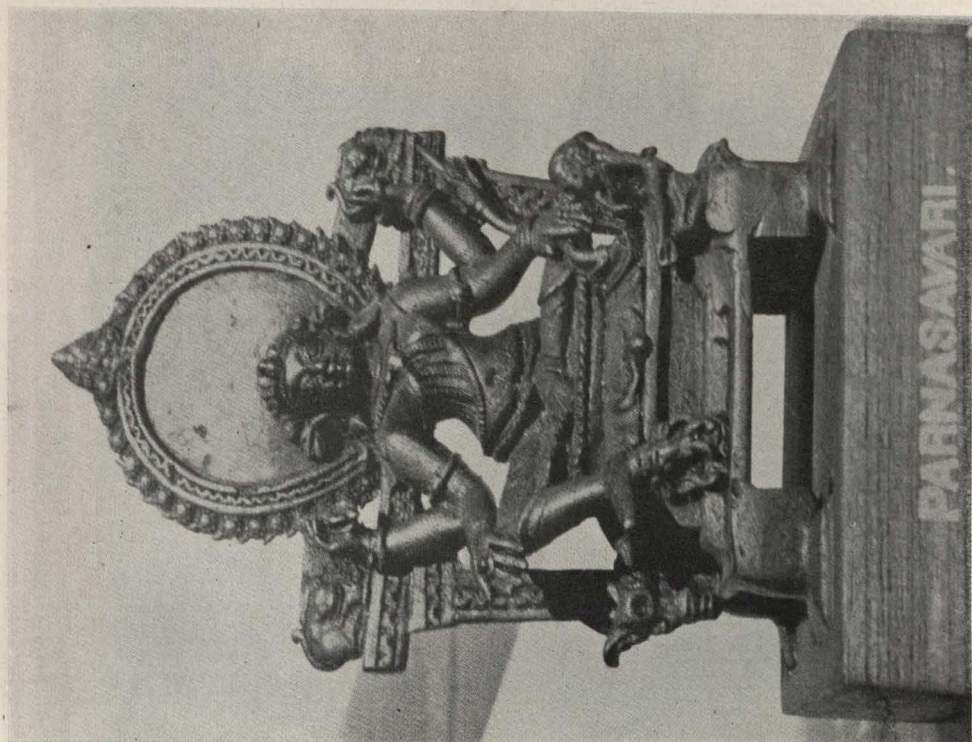


Fig 42



Fig 41

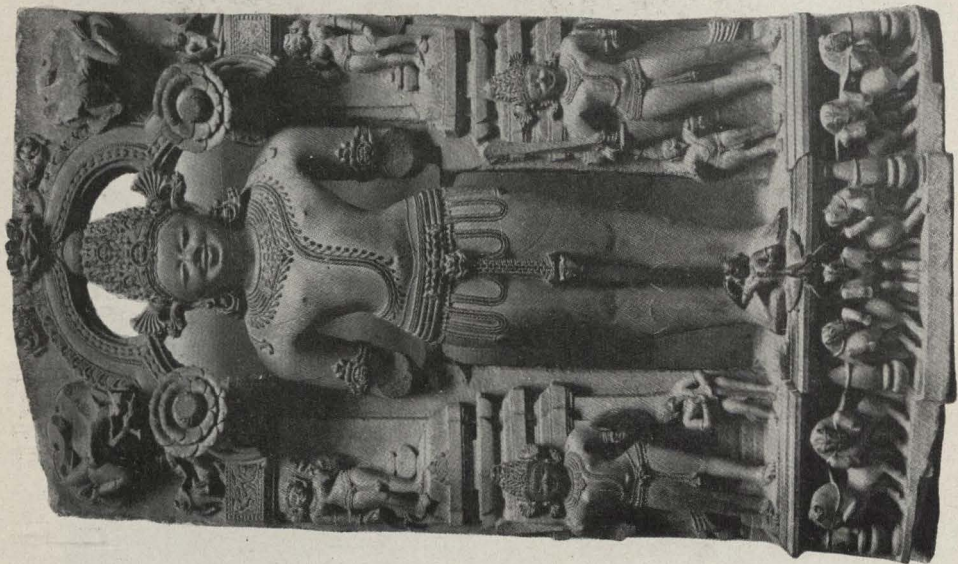


Fig 43



Fig 44



Fig 45

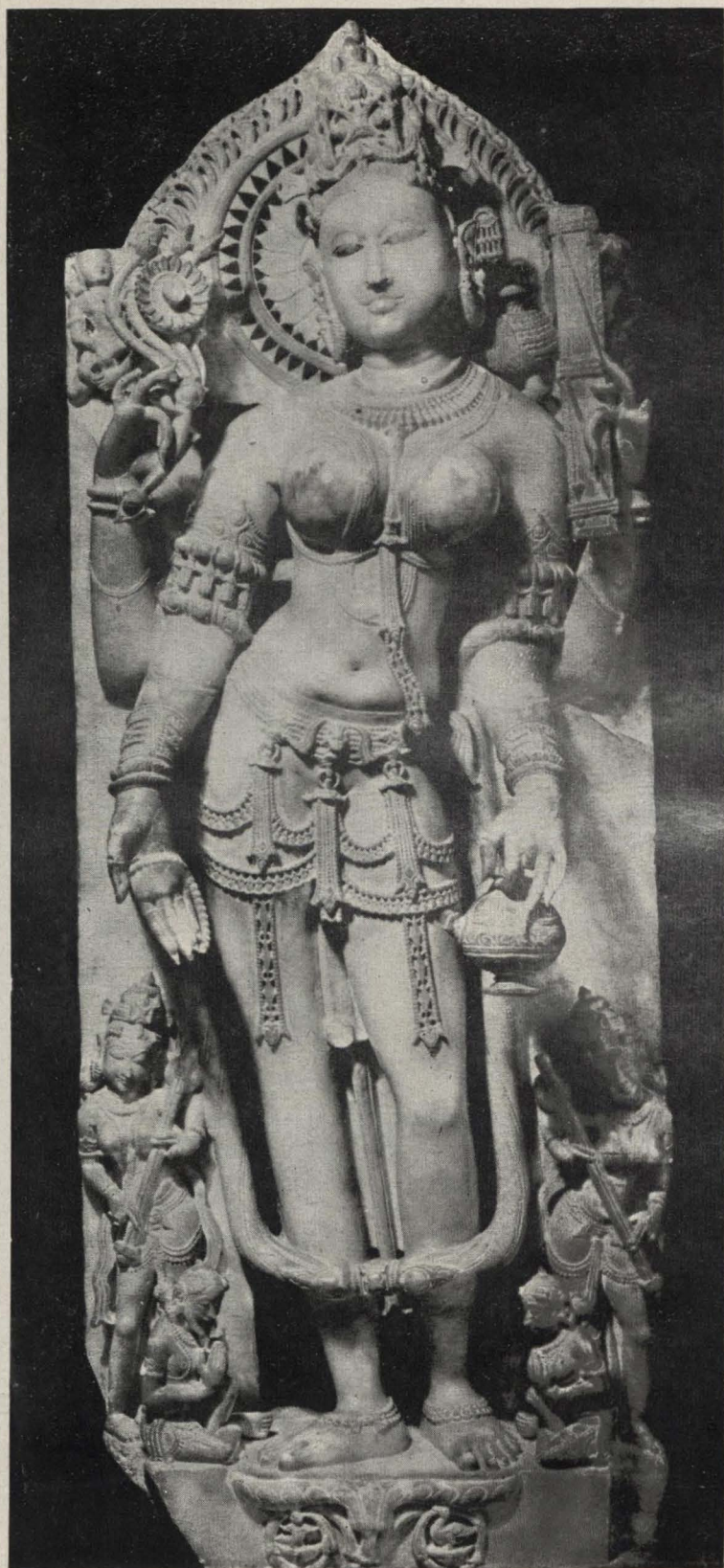


Fig 25